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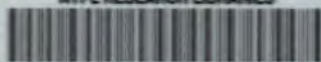
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the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that the same relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation, is a fact that is not captured by the traditional logic of categories. This is because the traditional logic of categories is based on the assumption that the categories are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. In other words, a thing can only belong to one category, and it cannot belong to more than one category at the same time. This is why the traditional logic of categories is unable to capture the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that a relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation.

However, the logic of categories can be extended to capture these facts. This is done by introducing the concept of a "category of categories". A category of categories is a category whose objects are other categories. In other words, a category of categories is a category that can be both a subject and an object of a relation. This is why the logic of categories can be extended to capture the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that a relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation.

For example, let us consider the category of "persons". This category has as its objects all persons. Now, let us consider the category of "relations". This category has as its objects all relations. Now, let us consider the category of "categories of categories". This category has as its objects all categories of categories. In other words, the category of "categories of categories" has as its objects all categories that can be both a subject and an object of a relation. This is why the logic of categories can be extended to capture the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that a relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation.

Therefore, the logic of categories can be extended to capture the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that a relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation. This is done by introducing the concept of a "category of categories". A category of categories is a category whose objects are other categories. In other words, a category of categories is a category that can be both a subject and an object of a relation. This is why the logic of categories can be extended to capture the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that a relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation.



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A  
GENERAL HISTORY  
OF THE  
CHRISTIAN CHURCH,  
FROM THE  
FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE  
TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.

By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D. F. R. S. &c.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

V O L. II.

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*Nactus sum præteritos dies non solum graves, verum  
etiam tanto atrocius miseros, quanto longius a re-  
medio veræ religionis alienos; ut merito hac scruta-  
tione claruerit, regnasse mortem avidam sanguinis  
dum ignoratur religio quæ prohibuerit a sanguine;  
ista illucescente, illam constupuisse; illam concludi,  
cum ista jam prævalet; illam penitus nullam futuram,  
cum hæc sola regnabit.*

OROSIUS.

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1802.



*R.L.H.*

*pp. 39 + 40 imperfect*



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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PERIOD XVIII.

FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY THE  
CRUSADERS A. D. 1099 TO THE TAKING  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE LATINS  
A. D. 1204.

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SECTION I.

*The History of the Crusaders continued.*

CONSIDERING the strange irregular manner in which the first crusade was conducted, it terminated much better than could have been expected. Godfrey himself, however, did not long survive his success. He died in A. D. 1101, and was succeeded by Baldwin count of Edessa.

VOL. IV.

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The

The success of this first expedition encouraged others to undertake a second. In A. D. 1102 fifty thousand men set out from Lombardy, conducted by Anselm archbishop of Milan, Albert count of Bladras, Guibert count of Parma, and many other persons of distinction; who, followed by a great number of Germans, traversed Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thrace, and at Easter arrived at Nicomedia.

About the same time there set out from France William duke of Aquitaine, Hugh surnamed *the Great*, count of Vermandois, brother of Philip king of France, who had left the former crusaders at the siege of Antioch, and also Stephen count of Chartres and Blois, who had done the same. They were joined by Stephen count of Burgundy, and many others; who, with about thirty thousand men, taking the same road thro' Hungary, &c. arrived at Constantinople, where they found Raymond count of Thoulouse; and taking him for their leader, came to Nice. But the emperor Alexis informing the Turks of their motions, and the crusaders being divided, one party of them perished in the mountains, but some of them arrived at Tarsus, where Hugh the Great died.

They assembled again at Antioch, whence they proceeded, some by sea, and some by land, for Jerusalem, where they celebrated Easter in A.

D. 1103.



## SEC. I. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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D. 1103. Presently after this, joining Baldwin in a battle with the Mahometans, the greater part of them were cut off, and among them both Stephen count of Chartres and Blois, and Stephen count of Burgundy; so that this second crusade proved very unsuccessful.

This enthusiasm, however, was far from being abated in the West. Boemond prince of Antioch going to France in A. D. 1106, and being married at Chartres, harangued the principal nobility of France, who were assembled on the occasion, in such a manner as that great numbers of them took the cross. At the same time the crusade was preached with more solemnity by the pope's legate Brunon de Signi, at a council in Poitiers, where Boemond was present. He did not, however, live to see the event of this expedition; for he died in Apulia on his return to the East in A. D. 1112, and thus the emperor Alexis was delivered from a formidable enemy. For tho' both were Christians, and equally opposed by the Mahometan powers, they were far from acting in concert, or at all friends to each other.

In the mean time the affairs of the king of Jerusalem wore but an indifferent aspect. Baldwin was so poor, that to mend his fortune he concealed his marriage with a wife that he had at Edeffa, and married Adelaide the widow of Roger count of

Sicily, a princeſs of great wealth and power; and this he did by the advice of Arnoul the Latin patriarch of Jeruſalem, a man of a moſt profligate character. Being at the point of death, in A. D. 1117, he diſmiſſed Adelaide, and dying the year following, he was ſucceeded by Baldwin du Bourg. The arms of the Chriſtians had, however, ſome ſucceſs in the conqueſt of Tyre in A. D. 1127; and undertaking the ſiege of Damafcus, they ſent fix perſons to procure ſuccours from Europe. Theſe were preſent at the council of Troyes in A. D. 1128, when the order of the *knights templars* was confirmed, and returned the year following, attended by a great number of the nobleſſe of France.

Baldwin II dying in A. D. 1131, was ſucceeded by his ſon in law Fulk count of Angers, and he by his ſon Baldwin III in A. D. 1142.

In A. D. 1145 the biſhop of Gabala came to Rome to implore ſuccour for the cruſaders, who were in conſternation for the loſs of Edeſſa, which was taken from them by Zengui in A. D. 1144, after a ſiege of two years, with a prodigious maſſacre of the inhabitants. On this occaſion pope Eugenius wrote to Lewis the king of France, exhorting him to take arms for the defence of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, granting the ſame indulgence to thoſe who engaged in this expedition that  
Urban

Urban had done before ; and giving leave to engage the fiefs of the church, if the lords would not advance the money that would be wanted. Lewis had before this determined upon the expedition ; and holding a parliament at Vezelai in Burgundy, at Easter in A. D. 1146, where he was attended by the principal bishops and lords of France, Bernard a celebrated abbot of Clairvaux, from a scaffold erected for the purpose in the open air, harangued the audience in favour of the crusade, with such effect, that after the king had taken the cross at this time, the crosses they had prepared were not sufficient to supply the demand for them. Bernard, therefore, cut his garment into crosses for the purpose. After the king, queen Alienor took the cross, and of the lords the principal were Alfonso count of St. Gilles and Thoulouse, Henry son of Thibaut count of Blois, Gui count of Nevers, and his brother Renaud count of Tonnerre, Robert count of Dreux the king's brother, and Ives count of Soissons. Of the prelates were Simon bishop of Noyon, Geoffroi of Langres, and Arnoul of Lisieux.

At another assembly, held at Chartres, every thing was settled respecting the expedition, and Bernard was urged to accept the command. This he declined ; but he not only wrote to the pope, exhorting him to employ both the swords of St.

Peter, the spiritual and temporal, on this occasion ; but he sent circular letters to all the countries of Europe to promote the crusade. “ Is not this,” said he, “ a precious opportunity of salvation, an invention worthy of the depth of divine goodness ; when the Almighty designs to call to his service murderers, thieves, adulterers, perjured persons, and men loaded with all sorts of crimes, as if they were righteous ? He is willing to be your debtor, and to give you as a recompence for this service the pardon of your sins, and eternal glory.” \* He exhorted them, however, not to molest the Jews. This was in consequence of a monk named Rodolf preaching the crusade at Cologne, and along the Rhine, and urging them to murder the Jews, as the enemies of the Christian religion ; and on this the Jews had actually been murdered in many cities of Gaul and Germany.

Bernard

\* In his address to the knights templars, he said, “ What is most wonderful is that the greater part of those who enroll themselves in this sacred militia were wicked wretches, impious ravishers, sacrilegious murderers, perjured persons, and adulterers ; so that their conversion has two good effects, to relieve their country, and succour the holy land. It is thus that Jesus Christ revenges himself on his enemies, triumphing over them, and making use of them to triumph over others.”

## SEC. I. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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Bernard himself made a progress thro' Germany on purpose to preach the crusade; and meeting with Rodolf, he persuaded him to return to his monastery. At Spire Bernard preached before the emperor Conrad; and tho' this prince had hesitated before, Bernard spoke in so moving a manner, that, with many tears, he expressed his readiness to undertake the expedition. In this all the people expressed the greatest satisfaction, and to add to the solemnity, Bernard took from the altar, and delivered to the emperor, a standard to carry in his hand in this war. At this time also Frederic, nephew of the duke of Suabia, and many other persons of distinction, took the cross. Bernard having gone over a great part of Germany, and, according to the account of his historian, having performed innumerable miracles wherever he went, returned to France, and arrived at Clairvaux in February A. D. 1147.

Presently after Conrad held his court in Bavaria, when many bishops took the cross, as Henry of Ratisbon, Otho of Frising, and Reinbert of Passau, together with Henry duke of Suabia, the brother of Conrad, and many other lords. But what the historian says was more extraordinary, was the great number of robbers and thieves who came thither for the same purpose. But after the invitation given them by Bernard, this was a very

natural thing. Not long after this, Labellus, duke of Bohemia, and Bernard count of Carinthia, took the cross. The Saxons did the same, not, however, to go to the East, but to make war upon the neighbouring idolatrous nations, which took place the year following.

Conrad set out May 29, A. D. 1147, followed by his nephew Frederic duke of Suabia, and he arrived at Constantinople September 8th, while other Germans who had taken the cross, went to serve against the Saracens in Spain, and took Lisbon the 21st of October. Lewis took his road thro' Germany the 14th of June, while Conrad had passed into Asia, with guides furnished him by the emperor Manuel. These betrayed him; and being surrounded by the armies of the sultan of Iconium, where they were almost famished, scarce a tenth part of them escaped. Conrad himself made good his retreat to Nice, where he was met by Lewis. Thence he went to Constantinople, to pass the winter, while Lewis advanced as far as Antioch. In the spring Conrad went by sea to Acre, where the crusaders met to concert their measures with the king of Jerusalem. It was agreed to besiege Damascus; but not being able to take it, Conrad returned to Germany. Lewis, however, proceeded as far as Jerusalem, where he was at Easter in A. D. 1149; but after this he returned

SEC. I. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. 9

to France, without having effected any thing. From this time the Mahometan princes held the Latins in great contempt, and the affairs of the latter went continually backward.

The Saxon crusaders formed an army of sixty thousand men. There was also another of forty thousand, and the king of Denmark marched at the head of an hundred thousand. These made an expedition against the Sclavi, destroyed part of their country, and burned several cities, especially one called Malchon, near to which was a famous idol temple. But after the war had continued three months, they made a peace with them, on condition of their receiving Christian baptism, and restoring the captives they had taken from the Danes. Accordingly, many of them were baptized; but, as the historian says, without being converted. Also they only restored such of the slaves as were old and useless, keeping all that were serviceable. It soon appeared that these pretended Christians were worse than they had been before, paying no regard to the promises they had made at their baptism, and making incursions into the territories of the Danes, as much as ever.

The ill success of this crusade was, as might have been expected, a great mortification to Bernard; and he was reproached as having contributed to mislead those who went on that expedition. But

he alleged in his excuse the case of Moses, who, tho' acting by the immediate order of God, did not bring the Israelites to the promised land, on account of the incredulity and rebellion of the people; and these crusaders, he said, were not less incredulous, or rebellious. He likewise alleged the war of the eleven tribes against the Benjamites, when, tho' directed by God, they were defeated twice, and yet conquered the third time. When he was asked whether he was authorized by miracles as Moses was, he said modestly would not suffer him to speak on that subject, ~~but~~ he left it to others; which looks as if he really thought that he had wrought some miracles.

The most formidable enemy the crusaders had was Saladin, a prince of great ability, courage, and magnanimity. After he had made himself master of Egypt, the affairs of the crusaders wore every day a worse aspect. Their manners were extremely corrupt, and military discipline was neglected. Pope Alexander III, on hearing this, was much affected; and ordering his legates to preach a new crusade, the kings of France and England both promised to send speedy succours. The alarm was increased by the arrival of Heraclius the patriarch of Jerusalem. and others from the East, at Verona, where the pope and the emperor were holding a council in A. D. 1184, and whose assistance



sistance they implored. Nothing was done at that time ; but they were sent with letters of recommendation to Philip Augustus king of France, and Henry II of England. The former would have undertaken the expedition himself ; but having no children, he sent several brave knights at his expence, and a great number of foot soldiers. Henry also did not go himself, but he gave leave to all who chose it ; and many persons took the cross, among whom were several bishops, and great lords. Of the former were Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, and Gautier of Rouen. Henry had before this, viz. in A. D. 1166, caused a collection to be made thro' all England for the service of the holy land, which was continued five years.

As none of the kings of Jerusalem distinguished themselves, it is barely worth while to note their succession. Baldwin III dying in A. D. 1160, was succeeded by his brother Amauri, and he by his son Baldwin IV in A. D. 1172. This Baldwin was a leper, incapable of business, and dying in A. D. 1185, was succeeded by his nephew Baldwin V, then nine years old ; and he dying the next year, A. D. 1187, Guy de Lusignan was made king ; and he was the last who reigned at Jerusalem.

The Templars having broken the truce that had been made with Saladin, he was resolved on revenge; and coming with an army of fifty thousand men, he defeated the Christians in a pitched battle near Tiberias, and took the king himself, and all the chiefs prisoners. The king he spared, but he put to death Arnold de Chastillon, master of the Templars, who had been the cause of breaking the truce, and also all the knights both of the temple and those of the order of John of Jerusalem, who had never given any quarter to the Mahometans in peace or war. It was a great affliction to the Christians to lose in this battle what they took to be the true cross of Christ, which they had with them as a pledge of victory. After this Saladin took almost all the places on the sea coast, and then he took Jerusalem itself by capitulation the 2d of October A. D. 1187, after it had been in the possession of the Christians eighty-eight years. The only places that were then left to them were Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli.

The news of the loss of Jerusalem threw the whole Christian world into the greatest consternation, and especially pope Clement III. Being then at Pisa, he earnestly exhorted the people assembled in the cathedral church to labour for the recovery of the holy land; and he gave the standard of St. Peter to Ubaldo the archbishop of that see,

see, with the title of legate. Accordingly he set out in the middle of September the same year A. D. 1188, with a fleet of fifty vessels, and after wintering at Messina, arrived at Tyre the 16th of April the year following.

The kings of France and of England, having a conference at Gisors to settle their differences, at the exhortation of William archbishop of Tyre, who represented to them the deplorable state of things in the East, agreed to compromise every thing in dispute between them, and both of them took the cross, together with several great lords and bishops. The king of England, moreover, ordered every person in his dominions to pay a tenth of his revenues towards the expence of the expedition, and forbid all expensive luxuries. The king of France followed his example, and this tax was called Saladin's tythe.

The cross was also taken on this occasion by Frederic the emperor of Germany, and his son Frederic duke of Suabia, together with no less than sixty-eight great lords of Germany, both ecclesiastic and secular; and their departure was fixed for the 23d of April the year following. A difference arising between the emperor of Germany and Isaac Angelus the emperor of Constantinople, the former took Philippopoli the 25th of April A. D. 1189, and passed the winter at Adrianople.

nople. The next year, at Easter, he passed the Helespont, and on the 18th of May took Cogni the capital of the Seljukian Turks; but he was unfortunately drowned as he was bathing in a river of Cilicia, the 10th of June. His son Frederic duke of Suabia took the command of the army, but died six months after before Acre.

King Richard set out from England the 10th of December A. D. 1189, and the king of France joined him the 4th of July, A. D. 1190. Separating at Lyons, Lewis embarked at Genoa, and Richard at Marseilles; and rejoining at Messina, they passed the winter there. At the end of March the king of France left Messina, and on the 20th of April arrived at Acre, which the Christians had been besieging two years. Richard sailed from Messina the 10th of April, and being shipwrecked on the isle of Cyprus, he conquered it from Isaac Comnenus, who had revolted from Isaac Angelus, and arrived at Acre, which surrendered the 13th of July A. D. 1191, and became a place of great importance to the Latins in Palestine.

Soon after this event the king of France returned to his country, but Richard stayed, and defeated Saladin on the 27th of September. Being obliged, however, to return to England soon after, and the other lords not being able to continue the war,

war, he wrote the most pressing letters to the pope to engage him to come in person to their assistance, but without effect. Richard having made a truce with Saladin for three years, left Palestine the 8th of October A. D. 1192, and returning thro' the dominions of the duke of Austria, whom he had offended at the siege of Acre, he was taken and imprisoned the 20th of December, and in this situation he continued all the year following.

On the death of Saladin in A. D. 1196, the Christians thought it furnished a favourable opportunity to renew the war; and in Germany three great armies were formed in A. D. 1197. The first, commanded by Conrad archbishop of Mayence, went by land to Constantinople, and thence by sea to Tyre. The second went by sea, and coasting Spain took Silves in Portugal, and demolished it, and thence proceeded by the straits to Acre. The third army, which was the strongest, the emperor Henry took with him to Italy, in order to complete the reduction of that country, and of Sicily, after which it was conducted by Conrad bishop of Virsburg his chancellor, and arrived at Acre the 22d of September. But the chancellor himself stopped at the isle of Cyprus, to crown Guy of Lusignan, who did not chuse to receive his crown from the emperor of Constantinople.

These

These German crusaders found the truce which had been made with Saladin broken, and his brother Safadin in possession of Jaffa, which he had taken and demolished. The Christians, however, gained a battle near Sidon, and retook several of the places they had lost, tho' they did not succeed in the siege of Toron. But these Germans were exceedingly scandalized at the disorderly lives of the Franks, who being satisfied with the possession of a fertile country, minded nothing but their own interest and pleasure, without any regard for Jerusalem, or the holy sepulchre. They even suspected the Franks of acting in concert with the Mahometans for their destruction. They, therefore, separated from them, and having recovered Jaffa, returned home; and so this formidable armament ended in disappointment.

Pope Innocent III, who interested himself much in the affairs of the holy land, directed a new crusade to be published, and employed Fulk of Neuville, a popular preacher, to preach it up, and he did it with great success. In consequence of his preaching, Thibaut IV count of Champagne, Lewis count of Blois, Simon de Montfort, and several other persons of distinction took the cross, and also Baldwin IX count of Flanders, with many lords of that country. Farther to facilitate this expedition, the pope wrote to the emperor Alexis,

Alexis, begging his concurrence, tho' not without reproaching him for not having assisted in the conquest of the holy land, and threatening him if he did not change his conduct. The emperor, however, alleged in his excuse the ill offices that had been done him by the crusaders.

After many conferences held by the crusaders at Compeigne in A. D. 1200, they named six deputies, to whom they gave the power to direct all their proceedings, and these chose Boniface II, the marquis of Montferrat, for their chief. Being assembled at Venice the 2d of June A. D. 1202, they were met by another body from Germany, headed by Martin Litz, abbot of a monastery of Cistercians in the diocese of Balle. At the same time there arrived a fleet from Flanders, conducted by John de Nelli of Bruges. But many of the crusaders not being able to raise the sums which had been stipulated to be paid to the Venetians for their transportation, returned. Others, however, and among them the count of Flanders, and the marquis of Montferrat, gave the full price, tho', in order to raise it, they were obliged to sell their vessels of gold and silver, and also to raise as much as they were able on credit. Still, of the whole sum that had been agreed to be paid, there remained no less than thirty-four thousand marks of silver; and therefore as an equivalent for this, they

promised the doge of Venice to assist them in the taking of Zara, which had been taken from them by the king of Hungary. On hearing this, the pope was exceedingly offended, and forbade them on pain of excommunication to attack the dominions of any Christian prince, and Zara by name, then in the possession of the king of Hungary, who had himself taken the cross. He particularly forbade the marquis of Montferrat to have any concern in this business, and accordingly he declined going on the expedition.

While they were preparing to embark there arrived at Venice ambassadors from young Alexis, son of the emperor Isaac, whom his brother had dethroned; begging their assistance in his restoration, the prince himself, who had applied to the pope with the same request, being gone to the emperor Philip of Suabia.

On the 8th of October they sailed from Venice, and arriving before Zara the 10th of November, they took the place, and passed the winter there. At this place they received letters from the pope, in which he treated them as excommunicated persons, insisted on their doing no farther injury to the king of Hungary, and making restitution for what they had done. But the principal business transacted now was their treaty with Alexis who met them, together with ambassadors from the emperors



peror Philip. He promised that, if they would restore him, he would bring the empire of Constantinople under obedience to the pope, indemnify them for all their expences, and would either go with them to Egypt, or send ten thousand men at his expence, and always keep five hundred knights to guard the country. To this expedition many objected; but at length it was acceded to by the majority, and the pope himself in reality was a well wisher to it, as promising a great addition to his power. And as the crusaders made an apology to him for their conduct at Zara, he absolved them from the excommunication he had laid them under. But the Venetians not acknowledging that they had done any thing wrong, remained unabsolved. In this place, however, the most considerable of the French lords left the army, as Simon de Montfort, and his brother Guy; Simon having made a treaty with the king of Hungary, to whom he then went, tho' afterwards he proceeded to Palestine.

After Easter the crusaders left Zara, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pope against their intermeddling with the affairs of the Greeks, arrived in sight of Constantinople the 23d of June, and taking it by assault crowned young Alexis emperor the 1st of August A. D. 1203; but becoming odious to the Greeks on account of his

connexion with the Latins, and his exactions in order to raise the money he had promised them, tho' it was by no means all that he had promised, he was put to death by another Alexis, surnamed Marchouffe, who got himself elected emperor. The crusaders offended at this again took the city on the 12th of April, Marchouffe flying by night. Having got possession of the city, it was abandoned to plunder, the churches themselves, and things the most sacred, not being spared.

In this plunder of the city the Latins found abundance of relics, which they considered as lawful prize. But because many of the soldiers set less value on the relics than the rich cases in which they were contained, and which they broke for the sake of the materials of which they consisted, the chiefs began to be alarmed lest this sacrilege should bring some judgment upon them; and in consequence of this the pope's legate and the bishops forbade all persons under pain of excommunication, to retain relics, and directed them to be put under the custody of the bishop of Troyes.

After the taking of the city Baldwin count of Flanders was chosen emperor, and in this character he was crowned the 17th of May A. D. 1204; and the marquis Boniface was made king of Thessalonica.

## SECTION

SECTION II.

*Of the Power of the Popes in this Period.*

AN account has been given in a preceding period of the publication of spurious *decretal epistles* of the popes, from the earliest times by Isidore of Seville. That these *decretals*, as they were usually called, should have been received as genuine, when so much depended upon them, is one of the most extraordinary facts in history. But they were forged and published in an age of great ignorance, when few of the laity, whose rights they principally affected, could even read; and tho' the clergy lost something, yet the sacerdotal order in general gained more than it lost, by the publication. The fact, however, is such, that few persons in that age, or several of the succeeding ones, appear to have entertained a doubt of the genuineness of these epistles; and as but little advantage was taken of them at the time, and the power of the popes and of the clergy had been increasing from other causes, their authority had a better opportunity of establishing itself, than if they had been appealed to and acted upon immediately.

Fleury, in one of his excellent *Discourses on ecclesiastical history*, shews at large how much the

power of the pòpes was advanced by means of these decretals, especially after they were included in the collection of canons, together with other spurious works of the Fathers, by Gratian, a Benedictine monk of the monastery of St. Felix in Bologna, which was for many ages the great university for the study of both the canon and the civil law. This work of Gratian, was published in A. D. 1158. To the decretals Fleury ascribes the introduction of the following important maxims and practices, viz. that no councils can be held without the authority of the pope, that bishops cannot be judged definitively but by him, that he has the sole right of approving the translations of bishops from one see to another, of erecting new bishopricks and metropolitan churches, \* and the consequence of these, the frequent appeals to Rome from all parts of the Christian world. In addition to these arose an opinion unheard of, as Fleury says, before the publication of this work of Gratian, that tho' the church of Rome gives authority to all the canons, it is not bound by them itself; and yet this new doctrine was generally received in the three following centuries, and the power

\* At the erection of Eli in England into a bishopric in A. D. 1107, it was thought necessary to get the leave of the pope.

power of the popes seems to have been at no period so fully established as in this.

Pascall II, in a letter addressed to the archbishop of Poland, maintained that the councils did not make a law for the church of Rome, since it was that church which gave authority to the councils. But, says Fleury, it is only in the spurious decretals that there is any foundation for this maxim. The popes, in times prior to these, claimed a right of giving or refusing their sanction to the decrees of councils, and generally sent legates to preside in them. Fleury says that from the year A. D. 1110 there were no councils in France without legates from the popes.

The maxim of the subjection of temporal to spiritual power, advanced by Gregory VII, tho' opposed in his time, was by no means given up, but was assumed as an axiom by succeeding popes. Innocent III, the most distinguished of them in this period always reasoned and acted upon it as far as circumstances would permit.

It was in this period, and especially in his pontificate, which began in this period, and extended into the next, that the papal power may be properly be said to have been at its height. Exalted above the kings of the earth, the popes extended their power over all kingdoms, and kings thought it their greatest honour to own themselves

their vassals, and make their kingdoms tributary to the apostolic see. The popes had made themselves sovereigns in Rome, and disclaimed all dependence upon the emperors. Rome was become the general court to which not only all ecclesiastical, but even all civil causes, from all parts of Europe, were carried. Appeals to Rome of all kinds, and from all persons, were become so frequent, that there was no affair of any consequence but was immediately carried thither.

The popes had for the most part engrossed to themselves the conferring of bishopricks, because they were the judges of the validity of elections, tho' these properly belonged to the clergy, as the ordinations did to the metropolitans. In order to shew their unlimited power, and make advantage of it, there was nothing that could happen for which dispensations could not be obtained at Rome; which so enervated ecclesiastical discipline, that it provoked Bernard to declaim so violently as he did against it. But what raised the papacy to the highest pinnacle of glory, was that the disputes between sovereign princes were usually referred to Rome. And as by this means the general government of Europe may be said to have been in the hands of the popes, the interior government of all the separate states was chiefly, in those times, and long after, intrusted to ecclesiastics. They  
were

were employed in the greatest offices of trust and power, and in all the most important embassies. *Giannone*, Vol. 1. p. 637.

In order to form a clearer idea of the spirit of these times, I shall recite some specimens of the manner in which Innocent III reasoned, and in which he was sometimes answered:

Having taken the part of Otho in a contest for the empire of Germany, in writing to him, he says, "By the authority of almighty God, which has been given to us in the person of St. Peter, we receive you as king, and order that henceforth respect and obedience be rendered to you as such; and after the customary preliminaries, we shall give you solemnly the imperial crown." At the same time he wrote to the princes of Germany, spiritual and temporal, enjoining them to respect Otho as king of the Romans, and emperor elect; and as to any oaths they might have taken to the contrary, he promised to set their reputation and conscience at ease on the subject.

To this the princes who had taken the part of Philip of Suabia replied in the following sensible and spirited manner, "Where have you read that you, or your predecessors, or their envoys, have interfered in an election of a king of the Romans, either as electors, or as judges of the election? Jesus Christ has distinguished the provinces of

“ the two powers, so that he who is engaged in the  
 “ service of God must not involve himself in tem-  
 “ poral affairs, and he who is charged with these  
 “ does not preside in things spiritual. But ad-  
 “ mitting you to be judge, a sentence given in the  
 “ absence of one of the parties is null. We have  
 “ unanimously chosen Philip king, and require  
 “ that you crown him at a proper time and place,  
 “ as is your duty.”

The pope, in a long answer to this remon-  
 strance, said that the power of the princes of the  
 empire to chuse a king of the Romans came from  
 the holy see, which transferred the empire from the  
 Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charle-  
 magne; and that “ the princes ought to acknow-  
 “ ledge that he has a right to examine the person  
 “ whom they chuse for king, since it is we who  
 “ consecrate and crown him; and it is an univer-  
 “ sal rule, that the examination of the person be-  
 “ longs to him who imposes hands upon him.  
 “ If,” said he, “ the princes should chuse a person  
 “ excommunicated, a heretic, or a pagan, must  
 “ we be obliged to crown him?” The king of  
 France was offended at the pope’s taking the part  
 of Otho, who was his enemy, and sent a remon-  
 strance on the subject, and afterwards the pope  
 abandoned him.

He



He did not, however, abandon his maxims. For when he refused to legitimate the children of William duke of Montpelier, after he had legitimated those of Philip Augustus, he said he had a right in certain cases to exercise temporal jurisdiction in other places beside the patrimony of the church, where he had sovereign authority, temporal and spiritual. To prove this, he alleged a passage in Deuteronomy, in which it is said that, in affairs of greater difficulty, or where the opinions of the ordinary judges differed, they should go to the place which God should choose, and address themselves to the high priest, as supreme judge, and even abide by his sentence under pain of death.

The same pope, giving his reasons, A. D. 1203, for interfering to make peace between the kings of France and England, quotes, in a letter to the former, many passages of scripture, the purport of which was to shew that Jesus Christ came to bring peace. "No person," he says, "doubts but that he came to judge with respect to the salvation or damnation of the soul; but is not sowing discord, attacking Christians, plundering the poor, spilling human blood, profaning churches, and destroying monasteries, works deserving of eternal damnation. Jesus Christ said, *if thy brother sin against thee, reprove him.* You have been reproved. What remains then but that, if you will

“ will not hear the church, you be treated as a  
 “ heathen man and a publican ? You will say you  
 “ do no wrong, and the king of England the same ;  
 “ must we not then inquire into the state of the fact,  
 “ and after having found it, proceed according to  
 “ the command of God ? Shall we cease to reprove  
 “ the wicked, and put a stop to violence ? ”

Writing to the king of England, he says,  
 “ We do not pretend to judge concerning *sies*,  
 “ but concerning *sin*, the correction of which with-  
 “ out doubt belongs to us, with respect to all per-  
 “ sons whatever. No person is ignorant that it be-  
 “ longs to us to reprove all Christians in case of  
 “ mortal sin ; and if he despise correction, to in-  
 “ flict ecclesiastical censures. We are particularly  
 “ obliged to do so with respect to breaker of the  
 “ peace, and oaths ; since both these belong to the  
 “ judgment of the church.” In this manner it  
 was easy for the popes to claim jurisdiction in  
 all cases whatsoever.

In things of a properly spiritual nature, the  
 authority of the popes was seldom disputed. We  
 sometimes, however, meet with an instance of the  
 good sense of the laity revolting at the dispensing  
 power of the popes in matters of plain morality.  
 Pope Calixtus desiring Henry I of England to  
 allow of the election of Turstan to the bishoprick  
 of York, he said that he had sworn that he would  
 not

not as long as he lived. To this the pontiff replied, "I am pope, and if you will comply with my request, I will absolve you of that oath." The king said he would consider of it, and afterwards answered, that it did not become his dignity to receive the absolution that he offered. "What confidence," said he, "can there be in an oath if it be seen by my example that they may be so easily broken?" Turstan not yielding to the king's demands, he never suffered him to come into his dominions, nor would he permit the pope's legate to enter them. Neither was this king, nor the pope deficient in spirit, to assert what they supposed to be their rights. The king insisting on his right of granting investitures, and Anselm vigorously opposing him, the latter went to Rome, and the king sent an ambassador who said that his master would lose his kingdom rather than relinquish his right. The pope replied, he would lose his head rather than grant it. Henry, however, appears to have withstood with great firmness all the pope's attempts to incroach upon his prerogatives.

In this reign the pope made great complaint of the refractoriness of the English, that no appeals were made to Rome, that translations of bishops were made without his consent, and that Peter pence was irregularly paid; but tho' the king was threatened with excommunication, if he con-

tinued

tinued obstinate, he kept to his purpose; and in a conference which he had with pope Calixtus in A. D. 1119, the latter promised to allow him all the prerogatives of his ancestors, and that he would send no legate to England except he desired it, on account of any case that could not be decided by his own bishops.

Other princes in this period shewed the same spirit, in despising the rash and unjust censures of the popes. William king of Scotland, tho' excommunicated by Alexander III, for not suffering John bishop of St. Andrews (whose interest was supported by the pope) to take possession of the see, paid no regard to it; and on this account the kingdom was laid under an interdict in A. D. 1181. Afterwards, he applied to pope Lucius III and was absolved. When Philip Augustus king of France was threatened with an excommunication by the pope's legate, he said, he should not regard it, because it would not be just. Tho' Innocent III pronounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against André king of Hungary, because he did not fulfil his engagement to go to the holy land, he never paid any regard to it, and his brother, whom the pope had favoured, dying, André was universally received as king, and was acknowledged by the pope himself. Pascal II appears to have considered Henry IV of Germany

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as lawful emperor, tho' excommunicated, and deposed by Gregory VII and his successors. This example, says Fleury, and many others, shews that the power of the pope over the temporalities of princes was not received as an article of faith. Lastly, pope Innocent III having sent a legate into France, to make peace between the kings of France and England, Eudes duke of Burgundy advised the king of France not to make a peace or truce, by constraint of the pope, or of any cardinal. "If," said he, "the popes do any violence to the king on this account, I will assist him to the utmost of my power, and will make no peace with the pope, but with the king."

Complaints were frequently made of the improper and injudicious interference of the popes in the dioceses of other bishops. Bernard remonstrated with great earnestness with pope Eugenius on exemptions that were too easily granted. "Abbots," he said, "are withdrawn from their obedience to the bishops, bishops from archbishops, archbishops from their primates. You shew," he said, "by this the plenitude of your power; but perhaps at the expence of justice. The bishops become more insolent, the monks more relaxed, and even more poor; for they are plundered, and have no protection."

The people of Rome were not, for several centuries, reconciled to the temporal power of the popes, and often gave them much trouble on that account. In A. D. 1144 they chose one Jourdan to be their patrician, or prince, insisting on pope Lucius II resigning to him the rights of regalia; both within and without the city; maintaining that he ought to be content with the tythes and oblations, as the antient bishops were. They applied to the emperor Conrad on the occasion; saying, they were acting for his interest, and to restore the empire to what it had been in the times of Constantine and Justinian. He did not, however, think proper to pay any regard to them, but received the ambassadors of the pope very graciously. Pope Eugenius being obliged to fly from Rome upon his election in A. D. 1144, he excommunicated Jourdan and his adherents, and by the assistance of the Tiburtines compelled the Romans to submit to be governed as before. Being, however, tired with their continual opposition, he went to France, and was received in Paris by king Lewis. In A. D. 1148 he returned to Rome.

So violent was the quarrel between Lucius III and the people of Rome, that in A. D. 1184 they seized many of his cardinals, and put out the eyes of them all except one, whom they sent to him. He was also obliged to leave the city, and take up  
his

his residence at Verona, where he died. After a long dissention, the people of Rome made their peace with Clement III, promising to surrender to him the ~~estate~~, the city, and the mint, and to swear fealty to him annually, on condition of his surrendering to them the town of Tusculum, which he did in A. D. 1188. At the accession of Innocent III the Romans swore fealty to him, and not to the emperor, as they had been used to do.

What is more extraordinary is, that the popes seem to have derived little or no permanent advantage from the liberal donation of Matilda, tho' in A. D. 1102, she renewed the gift of all her estates in the most ample manner to the church of Rome. For when she died in A. D. 1116, Henry V was invited to come and take possession of all her estates, no regard being paid to the donation, not even, as Fleury says, by pope Pascal himself.

Tho' the more spirited of the temporal princes could, when circumstances favoured them, set the popes at defiance, they were too ready, thro' their ignorance, to avail themselves of their supposed prerogative, when they were gainers by it, without sufficiently considering the consequence of that conduct. When Henry II of England attempted the conquest of Ireland, he applied to pope Adrian IV for his permission, and the pope in granting it

said "It is not to be doubted but that Ireland, and all the islands which have received the Christian faith, belong to the church of Rome," and on condition that he caused to be paid to St. Peter a penny per annum for every house, he gave his consent for the conquest. The same prince, tho' sufficiently high spirited on some occasions, yet when he was pressed by the civil wars with his sons, applied to pope Alexander III in a manner much too abject; saying, "the kingdom of England is under your jurisdiction, and as to the feudal right, it depends upon you." Thus, at least, Peter of Blois made the king say in a letter which he wrote for him. It is very possible, however, that the king might not have been acquainted with the full meaning of that language.

The power of the popes was most frequently displayed in the case of uncanonical marriages. In this period we have a remarkable example of it. Philip Augustus king of France refusing to take his wife Ingelburga, daughter of the king of Denmark, whom he had unjustly divorced, Innocent III sent his legate to admonish him; and this not succeeding, at a council held at Vienne in A. D. 1199 he laid all his dominions under an interdict, and ordered all the prelates to observe it under pain of suspension. This interdict remained in force eight months, in all which time the churches were shut,



That, and the dead lay unburied. In consequence of this the king was obliged to go into the territories of the king of England to get his son married. For some time the king resented this conduct of the pope, so much that he expelled the bishops from their sees, and confiscated their effects. Such influence had the popes mandates on the minds of the common people, and he found himself so great a sufferer in consequence of it, that he was obliged to yield. Tho' he was passionately fond of Agnes, whom he had married, and she was with child, and he had an invincible aversion to Ingelburga, his nobles persuaded him to comply with the demands of the pope, by dismissing Agnes and receiving Ingelburga, as his queen, and promising to behave to her as such.

I must not omit a curious circumstance which shews the haughtiness of pope Calixtus III. When he crowned the emperor Henry VI., he pushed with his feet the imperial crown, which was placed between them, and threw it to the ground, to denote his power of deposing the emperor; after which the cardinals took it up, and placed it on his head.

At the close of this section, relating to the power of the popes in general, I shall observe that it is in the writings of Geoffroy of Vendôme on the subject of investitures, that we meet with the first mention of the

the *two swords of St. Peter*, as signifying the temporal and spiritual power.

Tho' the papal power resides in the person of the reigning pontiff, he, like other sovereign princes, does not often chuse to act without the concurrence of his council, which consists of the cardinals. When William king of Sicily sent to treat of peace with Adrian IV, and the pope himself was of opinion that the terms were sufficiently advantageous, and would have accepted them, the greater part of the cardinals being of a different opinion, they were rejected.

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### SECTION III.

*Of the Schisms in this Period, and the Transactions between the Popes and the Emperors of Germany.*

SOME account of the transactions between the popes and the emperors of Germany, and of the schisms in the papacy, which had an intimate connection with those transactions, is of too much consequence to be omitted, as they help to give a just idea of the maxims and spirit of these times.

At the close of the last period the schism occasioned by the election of Guibert, under the name  
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of *Clement*, so long favoured by Henry IV, was nearly extinct. In A. D. 1100 Clement died, and his partisans, chose Albert Diederick, surnamed *Silvester*, in his place; and after him two others, who were all immediately seized and deposed by the Catholic party; nor does it appear that Henry declared for any of them. The situation of this emperor was not, however, changed for the better. Pascal II renewed the excommunication of him at a council held in Rome in A. D. 1010, and encouraged his son Henry V to revolt against him, which he did in A. D. 1105, and expelled from their sees all the bishops who had been in communion with his antipope, whose body, and those of his adherents, he ordered to be taken from their graves. His father dying at this time, and being buried at Liege, even his body was taken up, as that of any other person in a state of excommunication, and put in a stone coffin on the outside of the church at Spire.

However this good son of the church, and unnatural one to his own father, very soon came to be in nearly the same situation with respect to the popes that his father had been. For, immediately avowing the same sentiments, he marched into Italy, with a view to insist upon his right to grant investitures by the delivery of the staff and crossier.

At a conference at Chalons, when Paul II was present, the archbishop of Treves pleaded the cause of the emperor ; saying that it had been the universal custom in the time of their predecessors, holy and apostolical men, St. Gregory and others, that when the people had freely chosen any candidate for ecclesiastical preferment, the emperor had confirmed their choice by the delivery of the ring and the pastoral staff ; and that when the person so approved had sworn fealty, he received the *regalia*, or the revenue granted by the prince to the see. To this the archbishop of Mayence on the part of the pope replied, that the church, purchased with the blood of Christ, would be a slave, if the bishops could not be chosen without the consent of the temporal princes ; that the ring and the staff belonged to the altar, with which princes had nothing to do, and that the prelates debased their unction, if when, consecrated by the body and blood of Christ, they submitted to the hands of laymen, defiled with blood. This so much provoked the ambassadors from Germany, that they declared it was not there, but at Rome, and with their swords in their hands, that this question should be decided.

At another conference, however, between his ambassadors and those of the pope, it was agreed that the king should renounce the investiture, and the pope the *regalia* ; and thus the difference seemed

to be properly accommodated. But the prince, thinking probably that he had yielded too much, in giving up what had unquestionably been enjoyed by preceding emperors, insisted, in the very middle of the coronation service, on the pope's delivering him the crown, in the same manner, and on the same terms, as it had been given to Charlemagne and his ancestors; and as the pope did not chuse to comply with this, the emperor ordered him to be seized; and while he was a prisoner he, tho' with great reluctance, consented to resign the investitures. He also gave the emperor the strongest assurances in writing that for the future no ecclesiastic should be consecrated till he had received investiture in the usual form from him.

This confession of the pope gave great dissatisfaction to the superior clergy; and the cardinals being assembled on the occasion, they made a decree against the pope, and his bull. In consequence of this the pope, when he was informed of it, promised to correct what he had done only by force; and at a numerous council held at Rome in A. D. 1112, he publicly revoked his concession. After this, in a council held at Vienne<sup>or Lyons</sup> in 1119, at which the emperor was present, a decree was made against the right of lay investiture, and Henry was excommunicated. The coming of the emperor to the East, also, as he had done



staff, but that the bishops should swear allegiance to him. But the king, jealous of his prerogatives, hearing that the emperor of Germany granted investitures in the usual form, declared that he would do the same if the emperor was suffered to do so.

A schism of longer continuance took place on the death of Honorius II in A. D. 1130. Before this event it had been agreed among the cardinals to make the election of the new pope in the church of St. Marc, where they should all meet according to custom. But those cardinals who had been particular friends of Honorius, and the greater number, apprehending a tumult, hastened the election before the pope's death was generally known, and chose Gregory, the cardinal of St. Anaclet II; while the other cardinals, meeting at St. Marc's at the time appointed, chose Peter de Leon, cardinal of St. Marcellus II. But the party of Innocent III, who was in the city, he left Rome, and went to proceed to France. He was acknowledged by Roger king of Sicily, and by many of the princes in the western part of Europe. Here the interest of Innocent, who was more unpromising, prevailed, and he warmly supported him. He was a prelate highly respected, and was 70 years old, who ex-  
com-

communicated Anaclet and his adherents; and also by St. Bernard, who for a great part of his life almost governed the church. At a council assembled at Estampes for the purpose of deciding between the two competitors, Bernard pleaded so strenuously for Innocent, that, with the exception of the duke of Aquitain, he was universally acknowledged in France. His popularity had also been greatly promoted by the splendid reception he had met with at the monastery of Clugny. After this he was acknowledged in England, Scotland, Germany, and Spain, and also by the king of Jerusalem.

In A. D. 1133 Innocent, accompanied by the emperor Lothaire, went to Italy, and, they entered Rome together, the Genoese having assisted them with a fleet; but they could not take the castle of St. Angelo, whither Anaclet had retired. Lothaire, however, being unable to contend with the king of Sicily, returned to Germany, and Innocent to Pisa; where, holding a grand council in which every thing was carried by the authority of Bernard, he excommunicated Anaclet and all his adherents. In A. D. 1135 Bernard succeeded in gaining the duke of Aquitain to acknowledge Innocent, having at the time of communion advanced towards him from the altar with the host in his hand, and with furious looks threatened him with divine judgment for supporting the schism.

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In A. D. 1137 Innocent, accompanied by Lothaire, again entered Rome, and even took possession of the greatest part of the South of Italy, which thereby returned to his obedience. But Lothaire returning to Germany, and dying there, Roger retook all that he had lost, and obliged the country to acknowledge Anaclet. He dying in A. D. 1138, Gregory, a cardinal priest, surnamed *Viſtor*, was chosen to succeed him, but, at the persuasion of Bernard, he resigned, after holding the papacy only two months; and thus this schism terminated.

The emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who succeeded Conrad in A. D. 1152, had as serious a difference with the popes as his predecessors Henry IV, or Henry V, and promoted another schism in the church of Rome. He shewed some proper spirit at the time of his coronation, by refusing for some time to hold the pope's stirrup, which was insisted upon by Adrian IV, who was not satisfied with his kissing his foot. At length, however, he thought proper to comply with that humiliating ceremony.

This pope, having in A. D. 1157 sent legates to complain to the emperor of the archbishop of Lunden being seized in Germany on his return from Rome, and kept a prisoner by some of the lords, they reproached him in an improper man-

ner for his arrogance ; and in admonishing him to do his duty, they reminded him of his having received the imperial crown from the pope. This language gave great offence both to the emperor and his lords, who said that he had received his crown from God, and not from the pope ; that, of the two swords, he held one, and the pope the other, but both from the same authority. The emperor also expressed his resentment on account of a picture exhibited at the palace of Lateran in Rome, in which Lothaire was not only represented as receiving his crown from the pope, but with an inscription on it, signifying that he received it as a vassal of the pope, the term *beneficium* (or *fief*) being used on the occasion. At Rome itself there was a party, even of the clergy, who favoured the emperor. In Germany the clergy universally took his part, and on his marching into Italy the pope thought proper to send legates to meet him, and by declaring that by the term *beneficium* was meant simply a *favour*, and not a *fief*, in the legal sense of the term, the difference was for that time compromised.

The reconciliation was, however, by no means cordial. The pope, dissatisfied with the conduct of his legates, and with the vigour with which the emperor exacted his rights of forage, &c. wrote him a letter, respectful enough in words, but in reality

reality discovering much resentment on the occasion. He also sent it by an ordinary person, who disappeared as soon as he had delivered it. The emperor being highly exasperated at this, directed his secretary to write to the pope in the style of the antient Roman emperors, putting his own name before that of the pope, and using the singular number *thou* instead of the plural, which was then grown customary. In reply, the pope complained of this want of respect, and threatened him with the loss of his crown if he did not act with more discretion.

The emperor, more irritated than before, said he owed his crown to God, and that the popes held all their possessions of the emperors; that he had excluded his cardinal legates from Germany, which was one principal subject of the pope's complaint, because instead of coming to preach the gospel, and make peace, they had amassed gold and silver with insatiable avidity, and that pride had got even into the chair of St. Peter. The emperor being at Bologna in A. D. 1159, the pope sent four legates to him to make various complaints and demands, to which he answered with others, each insisting on their respective prerogatives; when the pope died in September of that year.

On the death of Adrian IV a great majority of the cardinals chose cardinal Roland, chancellor  
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of the Roman church, by the name of Alexander III, while the rest chose Octavian by the name of Victor III. Alexander and his friends apprehending violence, retired to the fortress, but they were defended by the people of Rome, while the emperor adhered to Victor. In this state of things the emperor summoned a council to meet at Pavia, in order to decide between the two competitors in February A. D. 1159. It consisted of fifty bishops and archbishops, and a great number of abbots and other ecclesiastics. There were also deputies from France, England, and other countries, who promised to be determined by the decrees of this council. After seven days the decision was in favour of Victor, who being present was immediately received as pope.

On the other hand, Alexander, after admonishing the emperor, formally excommunicated him at Anagni on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March A. D. 1160, and declared all who had taken the oaths to him absolved. Both Henry II of England, and the king of France, after holding assemblies of their respective clergy, acknowledged Alexander, as did the king of Jerusalem: and it is remarkable that, in a letter addressed to him from a council which met at Nazareth, he was called their spiritual and temporal lord, tho' the king himself was present.

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In the mean time Victor held a council at Lodi, when the emperor and many bishops were present, and there he excommunicated all who opposed him. In A. D. 1161 Alexander returned to Rome; but not being able to remain there, on account of the number of his enemies, he went to Campania, under the protection of the king of Sicily, and thence, by way of Genoa, to France, where he arrived in the beginning of the year A. D. 1162; and after holding a grand council at Tours, he took up his residence at Sens, and continued there two years.

In A. D. 1164 Victor died, and his adherents having chosen Gui of Crema, called Pascal III, the emperor confirmed his election. In A. D. 1165 Alexander left France; and having gone to Messina, where he was received with great honour by the king of Sicily, he arrived at Rome in November. But the emperor coming to Rome in A. D. 1167, and defeating the Romans, he went to Beneventum, while Pascal celebrated mass at Rome, and crowned the emperor. Sicknefs seizing the emperor's army, and he leaving Rome in consequence of it, Alexander pronounced against him a sentence of excommunication and deposition, using the form that was first adopted by Gregory VII, viz. that "for the future he should have no force in battle, and gain no victory over any Christians."

In A. D. 1168 Pascal died, and John, abbot of Strum, and bishop of Albani, succeeded him, under the name of Calixtus III. But the emperor, being defeated in Lombardy in A. D. 1176, sent to treat with Alexander, promising to give him the prefecture of Rome, and the lands of Matilda; and when they had a meeting at Venice, a peace was concluded between them, when Frederic, renouncing the cause of the antipope, was absolved from his excommunication. On this occasion the emperor walked before the pope, discharging the office of an huissier, and when he mounted his horse he held his stirrup a long time. It is observable, Fleury says, that on this occasion the absolution given to the emperor related wholly to the schism, and no mention was made of the sentence of deposition, which had produced no effect; so little were the novel pretensions of Gregory VII regarded.

At the earnest invitation of the senate and people of Rome, Alexander returned thither in A. D. 1178; they promising to do him homage, and restore to him all the rights of regalia; and he made such a triumphant entry as no pope had ever made before. Calixtus himself made a public confession of his offence, and received absolution. The schism was not, however, absolutely ended. For a few of the friends of Calixtus chose Lando  
Steno,

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Steno, of the family of the Frangipani (which had always been particularly hostile to Alexander) and called him Innocent III, and for some time, a brother of Octavian, or Victor III, took him under his protection, in a fortress which he had near Rome.

At a general council held immediately after this schism in A. D. 1179, in order to prevent others, it was ordered that every pope should have two thirds of the votes of the cardinals; and that whoever should assume the dignity without it should be deprived of all holy orders, and be excommunicated, as well as all who should acknowledge him. In A. D. 1180 Alexander, having purchased the castle in which the antipope had taken refuge, he was by him put in prison; and thus a final end was put to this long schism. After the death of Alexander the cardinals began to conform to this decree, and all other persons, clergy or laity, were excluded from having any thing to do in the election.

## SECTION IV.

*Of the State of the Clergy in this Period.*

IN every period of this history we find the pretensions and power of the clergy in general to keep pace with those of the popes, and indeed the principles of which they availed themselves were, in many respects, common to both, especially that of the superiority of things spiritual to things temporal, and consequently, as they said, the superiority of power and jurisdiction in the former with respect to that in the latter.

Several new maxims, with respect to the power of the clergy were introduced by *Gratian's Collection of canons* in this period, especially that, in all cases, they were exempted from the jurisdiction of laymen; and it was supported by the spurious decretals. On this maxim was founded the conduct of Thomas Becket.

The clergy in this period even maintained that temporal power originated from them. John of Salisbury said, "the prince receives the sword from the hands of the priest, and is the minister of the priesthood, for the exercise of that part of his power, which is unworthy of his own hands." Hence he concluded that the prince is, with respect  
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to dignity, inferior to the priest, and also that the priest can take from the prince the power that he has given him. We see in this, says Fleury, the progress which the new maxims of Gregory VII had made after his death. Vol. 15. p. 62.

An argument used by Innocent III, inferior to no pontiff in this period with respect to ability, is truly curious. In a correspondence with the Greek emperor Alexis, and the patriarch of Constantinople, who maintained that the civil power was above the spiritual; and who had urged that the sword was given to the king to punish evil doers of all kinds, said, "it was only given him "with respect to those who made use of swords, as "the laity, but not those who did not make use of "swords, as the clergy. The spiritual power," he said, "is as much superior to the temporal, as "the soul is superior to the body." He also alleged what is said in Jeremiah, *I have set thee over the nations, to pluck up and to plant, &c.* and that God had placed two great lights in the heavens, the sun to represent the pontifical power, and the moon the civil. It is almost equally extraordinary that such arguments as these should be advanced by men of sense among the clergy, or make any impression on men of spirit among the laity.

The right of the laity to have a voice in the choice of their spiritual guides was for many cen-

turies uncontested ; but as, at length, the cardinals usurped the sole right of chusing the popes, the canons of cathedral churches got the sole right of chusing the bishops. But this was not effected, tho' it was attempted, in this period. For at a council of Lateran in A. D. 1139, the canons were forbidden to exclude other religious persons from the election of bishops. It seems, therefore, that they had endeavoured to exclude not only the laity, but even the clergy too.

As the clergy had assumed the right of judging not only their own order, but in all cases that bore any relation to *religion*, as of marriage, &c. so they claimed to judge in all cases relating to the *crusades*, which was a war of religion.

Several of the prerogatives of the popes were assumed by the greater prelates of several Christian countries. When Sanches II king of Spain made an expedition in defence of Calatrava, John archbishop of Toledo published an indulgence, and pardon of all sins, to those who went ; which, says Fleury, is the first example of a plenary indulgence being given by any besides the pope.

The excommunication of princes was not the peculiar privilege of the popes. In the case of Philip Augustus it was performed by his own subjects. Persisting in his refusal to dismiss his wife Bertrade he was excommunicated at a council held

at Poitiers in A. D. 1100. This and the former excommunications had such an effect, that when he and the queen went to Sens, no church in the place was opened to them. At length he was absolved by pope Pascal, on condition that he would renounce all criminal connexion with Bertrade; and at a council held at Paris in A. D. 1104 he received absolution, walking into the assembly barefooted, and with every mark of humility he took the oath required of him.

As both bishopricks and monasteries had often been given to laymen, of which we have seen many instances in preceding periods, so many of them became possessed of the right of tythes. These were called *lay impropriations*, and of course very offensive to the clergy. At a council of Lateran in A. D. 1139, which was attended by more than a thousand bishops, laymen were forbidden to possess tythes, and ordered to restore them to the church, if they would not risque the crime of sacrilege, and the peril of eternal damnation. At another council of Lateran in A. D. 1179, all laymen were forbidden to transfer to other laymen the tythes of which they should be possessed. But on this it was afterwards judged, says Fleury, that tythes possessed by laymen before this council were held legally.

The clergy in this period by no means thought or acted alike on the subject of investitures, some of them pleading the right of the princes from whom they received their preferments, and others contending for the privileges of their order in opposition to them. Of this spirit we have several remarkable instances.

Otho being invested with the bishoprick of Bamberg by Henry IV in A. D. 1103 resigned, and was reinvested by the pope, which gave him great pleasure, as but few of the bishops in Germany at that time conformed to the papal decrees on the subject. Eadmer bishop of St. Andrews in A. D. 1120 was not required to receive investiture by king Alexander's delivering to him the cross, but only the ring, and the cross he took from the altar, to denote his receiving it from God. Accordingly, when he resigned his preferment, he gave the ring to the king, but put the cross on the altar.

The greater part of the history of Anselm falls within the preceding period. He retained his firmness to the last, refusing on his return to England in A. D. 1100, in the reign of Henry, to receive the investiture of the archbishoprick of Canterbury from him. Being at Lyons he wrote to the king to inform him that he could not render him homage for his bishoprick, or communicate  
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with any of those to whom he had given investiture. On this the king seized his revenues, and told him that he should not return unless he would allow him his antient privileges ; and having levied a tax on the priests, on the pretence of executing the decrees of a council held at London, obliging them to continence, he wrote to him a letter of remonstrance on the subject, in which he said " it was a thing unheard of that a prince should execute the laws of the church against ecclesiastics by temporal punishments. It is the province of the bishops to punish their crimes." At length, by the advice of the pope, some concessions were made on both sides, and Anselm was allowed to return, and end his days in his own country.

In this period we first read of several abuses, which in later times were the subject of great complaint with respect to the clergy. It was not till this time that we find any mention made of *mercenary priests*, or priests not properly belonging to any particular church, doing the duty of it for hire. This practice was forbidden at a council held at Rheims, when each church was required to have its proper priests, who could not be displaced but by the canonical judgment of the bishop, or the archdeacon. This abuse arose from bishops ordaining priests without any particular title, which the bishops were often induced to do for money,

the person receiving holy orders acquiring thereby valuable privileges, especially an exemption from being tried in the civil courts. But at a council of Lateran in A. D. 1179 it was ordered that every bishop who ordained any person without a title should give him a sufficient subsistence till he was provided with a living, unless he could subsist without it from his own estate.

In A. D. 1159 we find the first example of papal dispensations for nonresidence and pluralities of benefices, and of recommendations or mandates, to engage the ordinary to promise benefices before they were vacant. Hugh de Champfleuri, chancellor of the king of France, having taken much pains to promote a reconciliation between that king and the king of England, the pope expressed great satisfaction in his conduct; and as he was a canon both of Paris and Orleans, the pope desired both the chapters to preserve his revenues wherever he should be. He also desired the bishop of Paris to give him the first dignity that should be vacant in his diocese; and he desired the canons of that church to give him the first dignity at their disposal, and the first house in their cloisters that should be vacant. He also confirmed to him the possession of the archdeacony of Arras, given him by bishop Godfrey; and because the bishop had made him swear when he gave him this, that he would resign  
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the chancellorship, the pope ordered the restitution, and absolved him from his oath. This Hugh was made bishop of Soissons in A. D. 1159, and still continued chancellor of France. Pluralities, however, becoming very frequent, they were forbidden at the council of Lateran in A. D. 1179. At that time several persons had no less than six livings, besides several cures; so that they could not reside, while many others of the clergy were destitute of a subsistence. At the same council it was forbidden to promise any benefice before it became vacant.

While so many of the clergy lived in indolence and luxury, it was found to be impossible to enforce the laws of celibacy and continence. In all Normandy the priests were publicly married, swearing in the presence of the relations of the women they married, that they would never leave them. They also bequeathed their churches to their sons, as by hereditary right, and often gave them in portions to their daughters. Bernard, and some other monks, preaching against these practices in this country, were in danger of their lives. The church of Armagh in Ireland before the year A. D. 1133 had gone in succession, and been confined to one family, some of whom had been laymen, and married. Eight of them had been of this description, tho' they were not illiterate. At a council held in London in A. D.

1107, Anselm, with the pope's consent, allowed the advancing to holy orders the children of priests, on account of the great number of such persons in that country. He was also allowed to grant other dispensations, which the barbarism of the country was thought to require.

There are many instances in this period, tho' not so many as in the preceding, of open violence committed both by the clergy and upon them. In A. D. 1112 Gaudri bishop of Laon made himself odious by instigating his brother to murder Gerard of Creci, one of the chief lords of the city, as he was at prayers in the church, which was a great aggravation of the crime. The chief cause of the bishop's hatred of him was his having sworn to the commune of that city after he had abolished it. These *communes* were societies of burghers, who purchased privileges of their lords, whether laity or clergy, and often to their prejudice. On this they refused to pay the antient claims, and thus became odious to the clergy. This commune of Laon is the first that is mentioned in history. In England they were called *corporations*, and were the germs of liberty in that country. This bishop Gaudri was afterwards murdered by the burgesses, for having given the king a sum of money to prevent his confirming their privileges, and then taxing them to the amount of what they had offered

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the king for confirming them. The archbishop of Mayence was murdered by his own clergy in A. D. 1160.

Some of the clergy still continued to appear in arms. The bishop of Beauvais being taken prisoner in the war with Richard king of England in A. D. 1197, the pope interceded in his favour, tho' he blamed him for wearing armour. In answer the king sent the pope the suit of armour in which the bishop had been taken, and asked whether that was his brother's coat, or not.

The greatest act of violence on the clergy that we meet with in this period was on the return of the prelates from a council at Pisa in A. D. 1134. While they were in the territory of Tuscany, they were attacked, and much abused, by a company of banditti. They consisted of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, abbots, and monks; and yet they were plundered, some taken, and confined in the neighbouring castles. The archbishop of Rheims, after being insulted and wounded, without any respect to his age or dignity, was put in prison; the bishop of Peregeux was treated in the same manner: the archbishops of Burges and Sens, after having lost all they had about them, arrived with great difficulty at Pontremoli, and there were seized a second time, together with the archbishop of Einbrun. The bishop of Troyes was wounded  
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with a lance which threw him from his horse, and the city of Pontremoli was full of prisoners.

In the East, as well as in Europe, it had been the custom to plunder the episcopal houses during a vacancy of the sees. By a constitution of the emperor John Comnenus, governors of provinces were forbidden to do this in the strongest terms; and yet we find that Manuel Comnenus had occasion to renew this prohibition.

In some respects it was better for the world that the characters both of the popes and of the clergy in general were not more respectable than they were in this ignorant and superstitious age; for then their authority would have been unbounded. This appeared by the conduct of Hugh bishop of Lincoln in the time of Henry II of England. He was a man universally revered for his integrity and sanctity; and having behaved with uncommon fortitude and freedom in reproving this high spirited prince, after he had been threatened by him, he turned to his courtiers, and said, "If all bishops were such men as this, kings and lords would have no power over them."

In this period, in which the power and influence of the clergy were at their height, something was done which tended to check their exorbitant wealth by which their power was supported. For, with this view the emperor Frederick made a law  
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to prevent the transferring of fiefs without the consent of the superior lords in whose names they were held; so that the giving of estates to the church did not depend on the sole will of the possessor, of whom an unfair advantage was often, no doubt, taken in his dying moments. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 395.

It was in the 12th century that *subdeacons* were considered as a sacred order in the church. Before this the three superior orders were deemed to be bishops, priests and deacons. But the Romish church now began to use a different language, and to say they were priests, deacons, and subdeacons. From this æra subdeacons were not allowed to return to secular life, any more than the clergy of the other orders. *Bingham*, Vol. 1, p. 108.

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## SECTION V.

*The History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

IN order to shew in a clearer light the spirit of the high clergy in this period, in which it was at its greatest height, I shall give an outline of the history of Thomas Becket, a man of great ability

ability and spirit, who had thoroughly imbibed the new maxims of Gregory VII, and acted upon them, I am inclined, to think conscientiously ; tho' pride, and other improper dispositions of mind, have more influence on men's conduct than they are themselves aware of, as it might be in this case.

Becket was in the highest degree of favour with Henry II, and his chancellor ; when, having been archdeacon of Canterbury, he was persuaded by the king himself to accept of the arch-bishopric, in A. D. 1162 ; and presently after, as if he was become quite another man, he laid aside the manners of a courtier, and assumed those of the most rigid ecclesiastic, even wearing coarse hair cloth next his skin, when he had a dress suiting his high station over it. Contrary to the king's expectation and wishes, he resigned the seals of his civil office, and devoted himself wholly to the duties of his clerical capacity, which not having been considered as incompatible with the other, displeased the king. But their first open difference was occasioned by the arch-bishop's ordering some clergymen convicted of crimes to be punished without delivering them up to the secular power.

After this the king, having assembled the bishops of his kingdom at London in A. D. 1163, asked them whether they would conform to the  
antient

antient custom of the realm. They replied, that they would *saving their order*. The king not liking this answer, required them to make the promise without restriction. The bishop of Chichester replied that he would, and with good faith. But the archbishop, and the rest, said that, when they swore fealty to him, they only promised to preserve his life, limbs, and temporal dignity, *saving their order*, and they would abide by that form. Provoked at this, the king left them abruptly, and the day after he took from the archbishop all the places and fiefs which he had held as chancellor.

Many of the bishops, however, were afterwards prevailed upon to accede to the king's proposal, and even the archbishop himself went to him, when he was at Oxford, and promised to change the form which had given him so much offence. But the king, requiring a more public satisfaction, called an assembly in A. D. 1164 at Clarendon, and then, tho' not till much urged by the other bishops, and others who wished the peace of the kingdom, he did promise to conform to all the antient customs without exception. On this some of the lords being appointed to reduce these customs to writing, the archbishop desired some time to consider them. The next day the writing was completed, and the articles amounted to sixteen. Having taken some time to consider them, and to re-

fled upon the subject, the archbishop repented of having complied so far as he had done; and to punish himself, he refrained from all service at the altar, and to make his sentiments more public, he sent to the pope, who was then at Sens in France, to obtain absolution. Accordingly the pope sent his absolution, commanding him to resume his functions, and do his duty with courage, as a good pastor.

This conduct of the archbishop, which amounted to an open declaration of war against the king, provoked him in the highest degree; and to shew his resentment, he did him every ill office in his power. The archbishop then endeavoured to go privately out of the kingdom to the pope, but was prevented by contrary winds. This attempt being a violation of an established custom, offended the king still more; so that the archbishop, dreading his resentment, seemed desirous of obliging him by sending to the pope to obtain his leave to conform to the customs. This, however, the pope refused to do. He, moreover, wrote to the king, to persuade him to abandon customs which were contrary to the liberties of the church, out of regard to the judgments of God, who had often punished kings for infringing on the privileges of the priesthood. Notwithstanding this, the king persisted in having the clergy when accused of theft, and other offences

offences of a civil nature, tried by the secular judges, while the archbishop constantly remonstrated against it; maintaining that every offence of a clergyman ought to be judged in the ecclesiastical courts, tho' in this case all they had to fear was deposition; and then, not being liable to be tried for the same offence in any other court, they escaped without any proper punishment.

In October A. D. 1164, the king called a council at Northampton, which was attended by all the lords and prelates of the kingdom, when the archbishop, for not appearing in person to a former citation, was condemned to have his goods confiscated. On being informed of this sentence, he said, it had never been heard of before that an archbishop of Canterbury had been judged in the court of the king of England on any account whatever, since he was the spiritual father of the king, and of all the kingdom. The king then demanding of him an account of the revenues of several bishopricks and abbeys of which he had the disposal when he was chancellor, he desired to take the advice of his friends, and they were of different opinions: The lords spiritual and temporal being required to give their judgment, the bishops deliberated by themselves; and in order to free themselves from all blame, agreed to cite the archbishop before the pope, as guilty of perjury for refusing to

obey the king, after he had taken an oath to do it; thinking by this means to procure his deposition. But the temporal lords passed sentence upon him, both as a perjured person, and a traitor. When this sentence was announced to him, he said after giving an account of the manner of his exaltation to the see of Canterbury, "as much as the soul is  
 "of more value than the body, so much ought you  
 "to obey God and me rather than an earthly king.  
 "Neither the law nor reason permits children to  
 "judge their father. I therefore decline your jurisdiction, to be judged by God alone, by the ministry of the pope, to whom I appeal." However, dreading the king's violence, he withdrew privately into France, landing at Bulloigne the 8th of November, A. D. 1164.

In the mean time, a deputation of bishops and nobles was sent by the king to the pope; but he, having been prepossessed in favour of the prelate, said he could give no opinion in his absence, and the deputies, not chusing to wait for him, returned, after which the pope rescinded the sentence passed against him at Northampton.

Becket was well received by the king of France, who was not sorry to have that opportunity of mortifying the king of England, tho' they ought to have made a common cause, in opposing the incroachments of the clergy; and being conducted  
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in the most respectful manner by the king's officers, he waited upon the pope. In his presence he made a formal confession of his fault, in complying so far as he had done with the king's requisitions, and receiving the archbishoprick at his hands. Having again obtained absolution, he, in the like formal manner, resigned his church into the hands of the pope, who restored him to his dignity, and committed him to the care of the abbot of Pontigni, which was of the order of Cistercians, promising that he would never desert him.

Henry, provoked at this reception of the archbishop by the king of France, confiscated all his goods, and even banished all his relations and friends. And shewing moreover, a disposition to treat with the antipope, and the emperor, Alexander began to be alarmed, and desired the bishops of London and Hereford to apply to the king, in order to accommodate matters. In return, they advised the pope to act with moderation, lest he should lose the obedience of England, and involve them in much trouble; and in this he seemed to acquiesce. But being arrived at Rome in A. D. 1165, and having but little dread of the antipope, he made Becket his legate for all England, except the diocese of York.

Thus supported, the archbishop wrote letters to the king, first in a mild strain, but, afterwards in

a more lofty one, magnifying the sacerdotal dignity and threatening the king with the anger of God ; which provoked him still more. But fearing lest the archbishop or the popes legates should excommunicate him, and lay his kingdom under an interdict, he appealed to the pope. To this extremity Becket had intended to go ; but hearing of the king's illness at this time, he deferred it for the present, and contented himself with excommunicating the bishop of Oxford and some other persons whose conduct offended him, as too complaisant to the king, and all those who should take any thing belonging to his see of Canterbury. At the same time he admonished the king to give satisfaction to the church ; for that, otherwise, he should certainly excommunicate him. He also condemned the sixteen articles of antient customs, and excommunicated all those who should be governed by them.

In these circumstances the king wrote to England, to acquaint the people with his appeal to the pope, and forbad his clergy to obey the archbishop. And some time after the bishops, by his order, assembled in London, where they wrote to the pope in favour of the king, who, they said, only wished to punish, as they observed, those of the clergy who should be convicted of great crimes. They also complained of the archbishop, as having acted improperly.

properly, especially irritating the king by his threats of excommunication, and of laying the kingdom under an interdict, and having actually excommunicated several of their own body: but against this they appealed to his holiness. They also wrote a letter of expostulation to the archbishop himself, exhorting him to behave with more patience, humility, and gratitude to the king. In answer to this, he reproached them with cowardice, and abandoning the common cause of the church.

The king and the archbishop having both appealed to the pope, he promised to send legates to negotiate a peace between them. In the mean time, the king threatened the Cistercians with the loss of all that they held in his territories for receiving his enemy; and in consequence of this Becket was obliged to leave Pontigni, where he had resided two years, and he went to Sens, where he remained four years.

When the bishop of Oxford and the deputies of Becket waited on the mother of Henry, a woman of sense and spirit, she excused her son's conduct, as proceeding from his zeal for justice, and irritated by the malice of the bishops. They ordained, she said, clergymen without choice, and without attaching them to any church; and the consequence was that, thro' idleness, they committed many crimes. A clergyman, she observed, without a

title or benefice, had nothing to lose, he feared no temporal punishment, for his holy orders secured him from that, and he did not fear the prison of the bishop, who would rather let him go unpunished than be at the expence of maintaining and guarding him. The bishops, she also said, gave to one clergyman five or six benefices, which occasioned differences about presentations and collations, and lastly that the bishops received money for conniving at the offences of which persons were accused before them. To all this the deputies were unable to make any answer, and owned that there was the true source of the mischief.

In A. D. 1167, the legates arrived from the pope ; but though they had several conferences with the king, the archbishop, and the bishops of England, at the head of whom was the bishop of London, who made many complaints of the tyranny of Becket with respect to himself, nothing was concluded. But the king still said he would abide by the decision of the pope.

When Henry and the king of France made peace, the archbishop apprehensive of losing his chief support in the friendship of the latter, and also urged to it by the pope, who always gained more by the differences than the agreement of princes, went to make his submission, and even proposed to refer all the articles of their difference

to

to the king himself, in which, from the knowledge he had of the king's generosity, he might think himself safe. But as, in doing this, he added *saving the honor of God*, the king was very angry, observing that, whatever displeased himself, he would say was contrary to the honour of God. The king, with the greatest firmness, proposed that Becket should only do to him what the greatest of his predecessors in the archbishoprick of Canterbury had always done to the meanest of his predecessors the kings of England. This, however, the haughty prelate refused ; saying, that his predecessors had reformed some abuses, but had left others to be reformed by him. This appearing extremely unreasonable to the lords of both kingdoms, they said he was an obstinate man, resisting the will of both the kings, and ought to be abandoned by them both. Accordingly, both the kings mounted their horses, and left him without even the common salutations.

Some time after this, the king of France considering probably the advantages he might sometime derive from such a spirited opponent to his rival, relented in his favour, and allowed him an honourable maintenance as before. Encouraged by this, the archbishop again excommunicated all those who had seized any thing that belonged to him as archbishop of Canterbury, and especially

the bishop of London ; and the consequence of this was, that the king could hardly find a person in his own chapel who would give him the kiss of peace at mass, for the clergy were almost all excommunicated, either directly or indirectly, as having communicated with those who were so. On this the king applied to the pope to get them absolved ; but all that he could obtain was that the pope would send a nuncio to make peace.

Accordingly they met the king at Domfront in France, when the king, not liking the pope's proposal, which was simply to receive the archbishop into his favour, began to threaten something, they replied, " Do not threaten us, for we do not fear you. We belong to a court which is accustomed to command emperors and kings." In their farther conferences, the king, provoked at their insolence, said he should not value their excommunications an egg. Afterwards, however, he was appeased, and promised he would reinstate Becket in his archbishoprick ; but not being able to agree on the form of the oath to be taken on the occasion, the king insisting on his promising with a *saving of the dignity of his kingdom*, and the archbishop with a *saving of the rights of the church*, the conferences, which had been carried on at different places, broke up without any good effect.

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The king, hearing of a legate to be sent to England, and dreading the probable consequences of it, ordered that, if any person should be found there with letters from the pope, or the archbishop, containing an interdict on the kingdom, they should be seized and executed as traitors ; and that if any bishop, abbot, or other ecclesiastic, should observe the interdict, they should be banished; together with all their relations, and their goods should be confiscated. All appeals to Rome were forbidden, as also the payment of Peter pence, and what there was of that tax already levied was to be kept in the exchequer, to be disposed of as king should direct.

The lay lords conformed to these spirited orders of the king; but the bishops and abbots refused, especially the bishops of Winchester, of Exeter, and of Norwich ; and this seems to have encouraged the archbishop and the pope to oppose to the bold measures of the king, measures as bold on their side. For, after some other attempts to promote a reconciliation had proved ineffectual, the pope took off the archbishop's suspension, in case the king did not give satisfaction to the church before Easter in A. D. 1169 ; and Becket, anticipating this term a fortnight, sent orders to all the clergy, that if the king did not make the required satisfaction before candlemas, they should discontinue  
all

all the public offices of religion, except the baptism of infants, penance, and the viaticum; for which purpose they might say mass, but with the doors shut, and excluding all excommunicated persons. Many persons the archbishop excommunicated by name, especially the bishops London, and Salisbury, and the archdeacon of Canterbury.

The pope seconded these violent proceedings of Becket, giving commission to the archbishop of Rouen to lay an interdict on all the king's dominions in France, except that infants might be baptized, and the viaticum given to the dying, if after forty days he did not receive the archbishop into favour. He also forbade the archbishop of York to crown the king's son, instead of the archbishop of Canterbury, whose prerogative it had been. This, however, was actually done, no person having delivered the pope's letters.

At length the king, fearing the effect of the excommunication, agreed to make peace with Becket; and meeting once more, they behaved to each other with the greatest complaisance, especially the king, who was naturally generous, and on this occasion shewed the greatest command of temper. It does not appear that any particular terms were made, only the king promised to make restitution of whatever belonged to Becket as archbishop.

With



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With this promise he went to England, where he arrived in November A. D. 1170, and was received with the most joyful acclamations by the common people. But refusing to absolve the excommunicated bishops, he was not received by the friends of the king, and two of them, viz. Roul and Robert de Broc, who were brothers, having offered him some insult, he excommunicated them.

The archbishop of York having informed the king of this, and complaining that Becket was again disturbing the kingdom by his censures, the king, being in a violent passion, cursed those who had received so many favours from him, and would not revenge him of one priest, who disturbed his kingdom, and would deprive him of his dignity. Four knights, hearing of this, agreed among themselves to dispatch the archbishop; and with this view, leaving the court, which was then in Normandy, they went to Canterbury, and having first insulted the archbishop in his own house, followed him into the church at vespres, and rushing upon him with their swords, soon put an end to his life. Seeing their purpose, he received them with the greatest firmness, and in dying recommended his cause, and that of the church, to God, to the holy virgin, to the holy patron of that church, and to the martyr St. Dennis. This was the 29th of December, A. D. 1170. While, after this, the knights  
and

and their companions were plundering the archiepiscopal palace, the common people were gathering the relicks of Becket, and preserving them with the greatest care.

The king was seriously concerned when he heard what had been the consequence of his rash language; and dreading the vengeance of the pope, especially as holy Thursday, on which it was customary at Rome to publish excommunications, was at hand, he made all haste to dispatch ambassadors to the pope; and as he promised absolute obedience to his orders, the pontiff contented himself with excommunicating the murderers of Becket, their abettors, and all who should afford them relief or protection. He then sent legates to receive the king's submission, which he made in the most ample manner, after solemnly declaring that he had no knowledge of the murder of the archbishop; yet, because his rash expressions had been the occasion of it, he promised to send to Jerusalem two hundred knights to serve a year at his expence, to take the cross himself for three years if the pope did not excuse him, to discontinue the antient custom which gave offence to the church, to admit of appeals to Rome, to restore to the church of Canterbury all the lands belonging to it, and to receive into his favour all those persons with whom he had been displeased on account of Becket. The legates  
also

also enjoined the king secret fasting, alms, and other penances. The king's son also promised that he would discharge the articles of the penance, if his father should be prevented by death,

The pope being informed of the miracles said to have been wrought at the tomb of Becket, solemnly canonized him in February A. D. 1173, as one of the martyrs. The four knights who had murdered him were held in so great execration, that no person chose to eat with them, or even to speak to them. Finding themselves in these circumstances, they went to Rome, and confessing their crime, the pope imposed upon them the penance of going to Jerusalem; but one of them dying before he arrived thither, and the three others presently after, all within three years of the deed, it was considered as a divine judgment.

Henry himself being embarrassed by the war with his sons, and almost abandoned by his subjects, whether in order to recover his popularity with his superstitious people, or to ease his own mind, went to Canterbury, which had immediately become a place of general resort as a place of pilgrimage, in July A. D. 1174, to make satisfaction at Becket's, now *St. Thomas's*, tomb. Being arrived there, he set out from the church of St. Dunstan, which is at a distance from the city, cloathed with a tunic of coarse wool, walking barefooted thro' the dirty streets,

streets, till he came to the tomb. Then prostrating himself, he received the discipline properly so called from all the bishops and abbots who were present. Also every monk in the monastery gave him a blow on his naked back. After this, he continued prostrate all that day, and the night following, without taking any nourishment. He then visited all the altars in the cathedral church, and again returned to the tomb of Becket. On saturday at day break he asked for a mass in honour of the new saint, and then left the city with great joy.

So famous was the tomb of Becket, as an object of pilgrimage, that Lewis king of France, admonished, as he thought, in a dream that he could not otherwise obtain relief for his son Philip, who was ill, than by making a pilgrimage to Canterbury, applied to Henry for his leave to do it. Henry not only gave him leave, but in a liberal manner defrayed all his expences.

## SECTION

SECTION VI.

*Of the Monks in this Period.*

**I**N this period, as in the preceding, the orders of monks kept advancing in power and consideration, notwithstanding many complaints of their degeneracy; owing to the greater degeneracy, and the greater ignorance, of the secular clergy. Also, by their superior influence with the popes, to whom they were always peculiarly devoted, and the favour of the princes, to whom they made themselves useful, they continually gained new privileges, tho' in the end these were prejudicial to their interest.

For the services that Bernard rendered pope Innocent, he, in A. D. 1131, granted a privilege to his house at Clairvaux, and all the Cistercians, of paying no tythes of their possessions, which was the cause of great animosity between the Cistercians and the other monks, especially those of Clugni.

The monks were always eager to obtain exemptions from the jurisdiction of the bishops; but they were often sufferers in consequence of it. In A. D. 1175 Richard archbishop of Canterbury complained to pope Alexander III of these exemptions.

emptions. "Hence it is," said he, "that the goods of the greater part of the monasteries are plundered; the abbot thinks of nothing but making good cheer, and the monks abandon themselves to vain discourses. I know," says he, "that the pope has granted these exemptions on account of the tyranny of the bishops; but the contrary is the case now. For the monasteries which have obtained these exemptions, either by the authority of the pope, or which is more common, by false bulls, are fallen into the greatest trouble and poverty; so that the most celebrated monasteries have refused these exemptions."

At the council of Lateran, in A. D. 1123, there were great complaints of the incroachments of the monks. "Nothing remains," said the bishops, "but that they take from us the cross and the ring, and make us submit to their ordinations. They are in possession of churches, lands, castles, tithes, the oblations of the living, and of the dead. The glory of canons, and of the clergy is obscured, since the monks, forgetting celestial things, seek the rights of bishops with an insatiable ambition, instead of living in repose according to the institutions of Benedict." On this account it was ordered in this council, that abbots and monks should not appoint public penance,

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ance, visit the sick, give the unction, or sing public masses; that they should receive from the bishops the holy oil, the consecration of their altars, and the ordination of their clergy. At the council of Rheims in A. D. 1131, the monks and the regular canons were forbidden the practice of the law or of medicine, which was tacitly allowed to the secular clergy, then a necessary evil, because those professions required to be exercised by men of letters. Also, at a council of Tours in A. D. 1163, held by Alexander III, monks were forbidden to leave their monasteries for the exercise of those professions. But it is probable that the decrees of this council were as little observed as those of the former. In all the professions those persons will be employed in whom those who have occasion for them have the greatest confidence.

Bernard made great complaint of the relaxation of discipline at Clugni. "Their great feasts," he said, "consist indeed of fish, but seasoned with  
" the greatest art, they have a variety of exquisite  
" wines, they go to the infirmary for the sake  
" of eating flesh, they wear the richest habits, they  
" travel with so much pomp, both of men and  
" horses, that the train of one abbot would suffice  
" for two bishops. You would take them for lords,  
" and governors of provinces, rather than pastors,  
" and spiritual fathers. They can scarce go four

"leagues without carrying all their equipage. "One of them," he said, "he knew who travelled "with no less than sixty horses." He also blamed the magnificence of their churches, for which he said there was no pretence with monks; their cloisters also were ornamented with ridiculous grotesques, and paintings unbecoming their character.

It appears from the writings of Peter the venerable, abbot of Clugni, in the time of Bernard, and who wrote in defence of his monastery against Bernard, that discipline was even then much relaxed in that monastery; and at that time it contained about four hundred monks. There were more than three hundred houses of the order, and about two thousand depending upon it, some of them in the most distant countries, as one at Jerusalem, and another at mount Tabor. But after the time of this Peter it fell into the greatest obscurity. He governed his monastery thirty-five years with singular prudence, dying in A. D. 1156. *Berington's Abelard*, p. 390.

Abbots, as well as the secular clergy, had sometimes recourse to arms. In A. D. 1126 Pons, who had been abbot of Clugni, returning from the holy land, took possession of it again by force, which occasioned a war of some continuance. When pope Honorius pronounced a sentence of

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excommunication against him, he despised it, as well as a more solemn one at Rome, where both the competitors attended; Pons saying that only St. Peter himself, who was in heaven, could excommunicate *him*. However, after the second sentence he was deposed, and confined in a tower, where soon after he died penitent.

Abelard gives a shocking account of the state of the monastery of St. Gildas, of which he was the abbot. The monks, exasperated at his attempts to reform them, first importunately applied to him for clothing, and other things with which they well knew he was not able to supply them; and till that time they had spent what they had stolen out of the common stock, or saved out of their allowance, in the maintenance of their concubines and children. After this they proceeded so far as to make several attempts to murder him, especially by poison. At the same time the lord of the territory, availing himself of the notorious conduct of the monks, seized such of their possessions as he liked; and if Abelard went beyond the door of the monastery, he was met and threatened by this tyrant or his followers. *Berington's History*, p. 189.

But the greatest acts of violence that we meet with relating to any monastery were committed by Oderise abbot of Mount Cassin. Pope Honorius,

when he was bishop of Ostia, having had a quarrel with him, demanded of him, when he was pope, a sum of money for the support of the church. But he replied that, as he had had nothing to do in the election of a pope, he would not bear the expence of one. The pope then sent for him, and reproved him publicly, as more of a warrior than an abbot, and for spending and dissipating the goods of the monastery. Being, after this, summoned to appear at Rome, he refused to go; and when the pope pronounced against him a sentence of deposition, he paid no regard to it. The pope then proceeded to the excommunication of him, and all his adherents. But this was so far from intimidating him, that it produced an open rupture between them, and caused a great division among the monks and the people, who depended upon the monastery, some taking part with the pope, and others with the abbot. On both sides they had recourse to arms; but the friends of the pope overpowering the others, the monks were obliged to expel the abbot, and chuse another.

With some difficulty, one Nicolas, recommended by the pope, was chosen abbot; but when Oderise heard of it, he seized the castle of Bantra; and having collected troops, he destroyed those castles which acknowledged Nicolas with fire and sword. On this Nicolas called to his assistance

Robert

Robert prince of Capua, and took from the monastery many valuable things, the gifts of princes and popes, to enable him to carry on the war, which made the monks his enemies. At length, Oderise, despairing of success in any other way, submitted to the pope, and resigned the monastery into his hands. The pope then deposed Nicolas, and excommunicated his adherents; and the monks, shutting their gates against him, submitted to his hostilities. At his recommendation, Seignoret was chosen abbot; but the monks, tho' they had yielded thus far, would not permit him to swear fealty to the pope. When they were asked, why he must not do what other abbots and bishops did, they said the monastery of Mount Cassin had never been in any heresy, or entertained any sentiment contrary to the church of Rome; and with this answer, unsatisfactory as it was, the pope was obliged to be content.

Another instance of great disorder occurs in the monastery of Lifieu in A. D. 1182, in consequence of the frequent absence of their abbot William in England, on pretence of taking care of the estates belonging to his monastery in that country. There was no observance of the rule within the monastery, no hospitality, or alms. The monks quarrelled, and sometimes fought with knives. They had propagated a report that they had a miraculous

well in the monastery which they said cured any sick person who was plunged in it seven times ; but a woman whom they plunged in it died in their arms. One of the monks killed the cook, who complained of the too frequent visits that he made to his wife ; and the steward being drunk, and striking two of the monks with a knife in the refectory, they dispatched him with a pole. Such, however, was the ignorance and superstition of the people in the neighbourhood, that this murdered steward began to be considered as a martyr, and the pope was obliged to interfere, and put a stop to the adoration they paid him.

We also find in this period complaints of the disorders of some who, in some measure, assumed the character of monks or nuns. At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1139, a censure was passed on some women, who, without observing any rule, or living in common, would pass for nuns, living in their own houses, and receiving guests, not always of the best character.

There were some noble exceptions to this disorderly state of monasteries in this age. Among, no doubt, many others, may be reckoned that of St. Denis, of which Abelard was a member, that at Argenteuil, where Eloisa took the veil, and her own monastery at the Paraclet ; as well as that of Clugni while it was superintended by Peter the Vene-

Venerable. The nuns at the Paraclet were not only pious, but learned in an extraordinary degree. Eloifa herself was learned far beyond any thing we read of in that age. Her ideas of what should be required of nuns is remarkably free from superstition. "Rules," she says, "which were enacted for the good of man should vary as he varies. Why be so solicitous about things which are in different in themselves, which sinners and saints may equally practice. Let sin be prohibited, but let us have every other indulgence."

She then proceeds to discuss the nature of external observances, treating them as things of no value in themselves. "Virtue alone," she says, "has merit with heaven. The true Christian is solely occupied in perfecting his moral character. It is from the will that evil flows, and not from what is external to it." She proposes that her nuns should aspire to perfection by the practice of domestic virtues, that they should strive to be happy in the society of each other, that their tempers should not be soured by corporeal macerations, or humiliating punishments, and that having the advantage of a sound mind, and of a body invigorated by sufficient nourishment, they should be able to improve their understandings by study, and edify their neighbours by such virtues as it is

equally the duty of every citizen to practice. *Ber-  
rington's Abelard*, p. 255.

Eloifa's account of the employment of her nuns is peculiarly interesting, and even edifying. I shall recite the particulars. 1. "We strive," she says, "as far as in us lies to imitate the lives of the first Christians, by having all things in common."

2. "Our dress is ordinary and simple, made of the coarsest wool and flax. But in this, as in our beds, if we sometimes have not all that seems necessary, let it be remembered that we have renounced the world, and its conveniences."

3. "We eat the bread that is laid before us, sometimes wheaten, and sometimes of other grain. In the refectory our common fare is legumes, or such roots as the garden gives us. Milk, eggs, and cheese, are rarely served, and fish only when the kindness of our neighbours supplies us. Our wine is mixed with water. At supper only salad, or fruit, is allowed us; and when these fail we bear it without murmuring."

4. "Only the abbess and prioress have a right to command. Without their permission no one goes out of the inclosure, or speaks, or gives, or receives, the smallest trifle."

5. "Would our strength permit us, we should till our lands, and live by labour. But we cannot."

“ cannot. We therefore call in the aid of lay bro-  
 “ thers. Any alms which the piety of the faithful  
 “ offers we do not refuse.

6. “ We rise before break of day, and pro-  
 “ ceed to the church to *matins*. After this, ac-  
 “ cording to the season of the year, we either retire  
 “ for a short time to our beds, or we meet in the  
 “ chapter house, to read or work. When the  
 “ bell rings we again go to church, where *prime* is  
 “ said, and after that the morning mass. Again  
 “ we assemble in the chapter house to confess pub-  
 “ licly our faults, and to receive correction. Here  
 “ on solemn festivals a sermon is preached. After  
 “ chapter, if there be time, we read till *tierce*, or  
 “ nine o’clock. Then follow high mass, and  
 “ *sext*, after which we read or work till *none*, or  
 “ three o’clock. At three we take our meal, fi-  
 “ lent, and recollected. This finished we return,  
 “ giving thanks to God, go to the church, and  
 “ thence to the chapter house, where one of the  
 “ nuns whose duty it is makes a discourse to the  
 “ assembly. If there be time, we then remain in  
 “ the cloisters till the hour of *vespers*. These are  
 “ always sung. After vespers we return to the  
 “ cloisters, where in silence and meditation we wait  
 “ the hour of collation, supper. After supper  
 “ *complin* is sung in the church, and we remain in  
 “ prayer till, a signal is given, at which we all rise  
 “ from

“ from our knees, and then, sprinkled with holy  
 “ water by the superior, they proceed in procession  
 “ thro’ the cloisters to the dormitory, where each  
 “ one turns to her bed, and, blessing God, retires  
 “ to rest.”

Thus, says Mr. Berington, lived Heloisa and her nuns, and with some accidental variety the same continues to be the rules of most orders of religious women. It is severe, he adds, and uninviting, but every moment of the day having its proper duty, there is no time for idle speculations, and consequently no time for the ingress of those ideas from which error, uneasiness, and misery spring. *Life of Abelard*, p. 394.

In the East the emperor Manuel Comnenus lamented the decay of monastic discipline. The monks, he said, were no way distinguished from other men, but by their dress, their long beards, and their external appearance. He founded a monastery, but provided for its maintenance out of the public revenues; saying his ancestors had done wrong in putting monks in possession of estates in land, when they ought to have lived in deserts and caverns, as having renounced the world, and not appear in cities, and public places.

Such, however, was the superstitious respect of this emperor for the monkish character, that on the unexpected approach of death, he ordered in  
 great



great haste a monk's drefs to be brought, and he put it on, tho' it was obferved to be much too ſhort, and not at all fitting him, and in it he expired. In a manner equally unworthy of a man of ſenſe, died Henry the ſon of Henry II of England in A. D. 1183 at the age of twenty-eight. When he found himſelf at the point of death, he put on a haircloth, and tied a cord about his neck, by which he deſired the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics who were preſent to draw him out of his bed, and place him on a heap of aſhes. Accordingly they did ſo, putting one great ſtone at his head, and another at his feet; and in that ſituation he received the viaticum.

There were ſome new orders of monks founded in this period, which, on account of the reputation they acquired, deſerve to be mentioned. One of them was that of *Premontre*, founded by St. Norbert archbiſhop of Magdeburg, in A. D. 1120. The monks of this order profeſſed the rule of St. Auſtin; the founder, and his principal followers being canons. They wore a white habit, which was that of the clergy, but all of wool, and his firſt diſciples preferred old and patched garments to new ones. There was no labour too mean for them, their ſilence was continual, and they ate only once a day. Norbert particularly recommended to them three things, neatneſs in the ſervice of  
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the altar, the correction of faults in the chapter and charity to the poor. His institute was confirmed by Honorius in A. D. 1126, the year which he was made bishop of Magdeburgh.

A new system of monkish discipline was introduced by Robert de Arbriffelles. He had several monasteries built within one inclosure, for monks and nuns, all subject to an abbess; alleging the authority of Christ, who recommended John the virgin Mary, and directed him to be obedient to her as to his own mother; tho' he more properly committed her to the care of John. This singular discipline was embraced by great multitudes. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 410.

In this period arose the order of *Carmelites*, beginning with a Calabrian of the name of Berthold who, with a few companions, took up his abode upon mount Carmel, and lived a life of great austerities and labour. They were afterwards erected into a regular community by Albert the patriarch of Jerusalem, and being confirmed by the pope, this order was transferred to Europe. *Ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 412.

In A. D. 1198 the order of the *Trinity*, was instituted, for the redemption of Christian captives who were numerous in consequence of the crusades. In the short space of forty years there were no less than six hundred houses of this order.

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The monastery of Clairvaux became famous in this period, tho' belonging to the Cistercian order, by the rigorous discipline of St. Bernard. He was born of noble parents in A. D. 1091, at Dijon. His mother had six sons and one daughter, all of whom she devoted to God; but Bernard, her third son, in a particular manner; and all the seven at different periods embraced the monastic life. At the age of twenty-two he entered the monastery of Citeaux, with several young men whom he had persuaded to join him. and there he distinguished himself by his humility, labour, abstraction of thought, and study of the scriptures. In A. D. 1115 he was made abbot of Clairvaux, then first founded, a place given to the Cistercian order by Hugh count of Troyes on the river Aube. The monks of Clairvaux, under the direction of Bernard, found, it is said, so much satisfaction in their mortifications, that they were even alarmed at it, thinking it more dangerous on account of its being more spiritual. To free them from this scruple, the authority of the bishop of Chalons, in whose diocese they were, was necessary. This was called the golden age of the Cistercians. In A. D. 1119 pope Calixtus confirmed the regulations of the monastery of Citeaux, ordering all the abbots to attend a chapter general of that order every year. This was the first order of monks that had *chapters*  
*gene-*

general; but it served as a model for all the others.

Lambert, surnamed *Le Begue*, or the *Stammerer*, who had distinguished himself by declaiming against the avaricious bishop of Liege, being permitted to preach by Alexander III in A. D. 1174, assembled a number of women, married and single, persuading them to live in continence; and from him they were called *Beguines*, devoting themselves to acts of charity. Also many women, without making a perpetual vow, lived in common, applying themselves to prayer and labour.

What particularly distinguished this period of our history was the institution of several *military orders*, in which two things before thought most discordant, viz. the profession of arms, and the discipline of the monastery, were united. The first of these was that of the *Templars*, which was instituted at Jerusalem in A. D. 1128, taking their appellation from their fixing themselves near the situation of the temple of Solomon. They consisted of knights of a religious turn, who promised to live in perpetual chastity, obedience to their superior, and poverty, like the canons. Their first duty was to guard the high roads from robbers, chiefly for the safety of pilgrims. They were only nine in number, when six of them presented themselves at the council of Troyes in A. D. 1128, and  
received

received a rule in writing, composed by St. Bernard; and pope Honorius, and the patriarch Stephen, ordered them to wear a white habit. According to this rule, they were to repeat the public offices intire by day and night, except when their military duty prevented them. They were to recite thirteen paternosters for matins, seven for each of the lesser hours, and nine for vespres; because these good knights could not read. For each of their brethren who died they were to repeat an hundred paternosters for seven days; and within forty days they were to give to the poor the portion of the deceased. They ate flesh only three times in the week, sundays, tuesdays, and thursdays. Each knight might have six horses, and one squire. All hunting with hounds or hawks was forbidden them.

Another military order, which in after time acquired greater celebrity than that of the Templars, arose after them. It was that of the *knights of the hospital of St. John at Jerusalem*. While this city was under the Mahometans, the Latins obtained leave to have a monastery near the church of the holy sepulchre, where the Latin pilgrims might receive hospitality. These monks founded an hospital dedicated to St. John. Many donations being made to this hospital, the directors of it applied to Rome to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the

VOL. IV. G patriarch,

patriarch, and also from the payment of tythes; and they had obtained various privileges under the popes who preceeded Adrian IV. But under him they were formed into a regular society, dependent only on the pope, consisting of three orders, knights, clergy, and serving brothers. Of these the knights, after taking the habit and the cross, were strictly forbidden to quit their profession, or adopt any other institution. The bull of their institution is dated the 21st of October, A. D. 1154.

This profession of arms soon appeared to be ill suited to the purposes of religion. For the knights of both these orders were so much degenerated within six years of their institution, that all writers agree in describing them as the most abandoned of men. In their excursions they spared neither Christians nor Mahometans; and by keeping no faith with the latter, they were the chief cause of their own expulsion from the holy land.

After the siege of Acre in A. D. 1191, some Germans established an hospital for the sick of their own country, such as had been before at Jerusalem; and this was the origin of a third military order in imitation of the Templars, and the knights of St. John, which was confirmed by pope Celestine III the 23d of February A. D. 1192, and was denominated the order of the *Teutonic knights*, of the house of St. Mary at Jerusalem. They had  
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the same privileges with the knights of the other orders, but they were subject to the patriarch and the other prelates.

All these three orders originated in the East; and were occasioned by the holy war. Two others were established in Spain, in consequence of the wars with the Mahometan powers in that country. The first was that of the *knights of Calatrava*, being instituted for the defence of that city, when it was attacked by the Moors in A. D. 1158. It was confirmed by Alexander III in A. D. 1164. The second was that of the knights of *St. James of Compostella*, sanctioned also by Alexander III in A. D. 1176. This order consisted of clergy and knights, the latter married, but whose wives were considered as sisters of the order. Their object was to fight the Mahometans, or convert them. They had a *master*, and many *commanders*. They lived in common, having no separate property. When once of the order they could never return to common life, or pass into any other order, without the leave of the master. All that they conquered, or that was given them, belonged to the order. For their privileges they were to pay to the pope every year ten Malaguins, which were pieces of Spanish money.

## SECTION VII.

*Of Sectaries that bore some Relation to the Manicheans. Of the Albigenfes, and Waldenfes.*

ALL the labours of the Greek emperors, by argument or by open force, which was too often had recourse to, failed to bring over the Paulicians, and other sectaries whose principles were fimilar to thofe of the Manicheans. From Armenia it has been feen that they went to Bulgaria, and thence into the Weft, where they were diftinguifhed by various names, according to particular circumftances, and often the malice or caprice of their adverfaries. Thofe of this period whom the Byzantine hiftorians call *Bogomiles* were evidently no other than Paulicians. This appellation they received from their being obferved to *pray* much, the word in their language having that fignification. About the year A. D. 1111 they were perfecuted by the emperor Alexis, who ordered their chief, at that time called *Bafilus*, to be burned alive at Conftantinople.

This *Bafilus* appears to have been a pious and venerable old man, and he was betrayed into a declaration of his opinions by the emperor and his brother



brother pretending to listen to his instructions, while a secretary, concealed behind a curtain, wrote down what he said.

The *Massilians*, and also the *Euchites* received their appellations from the same honourable circumstance, as the words signify persons disposed to pray. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 441.

According to Euthymius, who published an account of those Bogomiles by order of the emperor, and chiefly from the conversation between this Basilus and the emperor, they rejected the Old Testament, but received the New. They said the Son and Spirit did not exist before the birth of Christ, so that whatever they meant by this, they could not have been trinitarians, nor were the Manicheans, or any of the antient Gnostics; all of whom acknowledged only one God the Father, and Christ to be an inferior and created being. Previous to the birth of Christ, they said there was another son of God, called Satanel, who revolted, and drew many angels into his party; but being driven from heaven, he made this visible world, deceived Moses, and gave him the antient law. Jesus Christ, they said, came to destroy the power of Satanel; but that his incarnation, death, and resurrection, were only appearances to deceive him. These are evidently Gnostic sentiments, and like the antient Gnostics, they were advocates for austerity; dis-

approving of the commerce of the sexes; they ate no flesh, or even eggs, and fasted every wednesday and friday. They rejected the Catholic baptism and the eucharist, but received their proselytes by what they called the baptism of the spirit, which is not well explained. They held relics, and crosses, in great contempt, and considered the Catholics as Pharisees and Sadducees.

The emperor Alexis Comnenus took great pains to convert the Paulicians, who were settled in Thrace, having frequent conferences with them; sometimes the whole day, and even the night being taken up with them. Three of their chiefs, on whom his arguments had no impression, were sent to Constantinople, and confined there. Of these one recanted, and was released, but the other two were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. By one means or other the emperor succeeded in bringing over whole towns and villages to the profession of the Catholic doctrine.

At a council at Constantinople in A. D. 1140 the writings of Constantine Chrysomalus were condemned, on account of their favouring the opinions of the Bogomiles, as that persons baptized in infancy were no Christians, because they had not been instructed beforehand, that they who have their baptism are real Christians, not subject to the law, and that Christians have two souls, the one  
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impeccable, and the other sinful. If this representation be just, their doctrine had some relation to that of the Manicheans.

At another council in Constantinople, in A. D. 1143, two bishops of these Bogomiles were introduced. They contended for the rebaptizing of infants, and in all other respects held the tenets ascribed to them by Euthymius. Their writings were condemned, and those who held their opinions were anathematized. In the same year, at another council in that city, a monk called Niphon was ordered to be put into close custody for approving the doctrine of the two bishops abovementioned, and cursing the God of the Hebrews. Cosmas the patriarch of Constantinople being much attached to this Niphon, and suspected of the heresy of the Bogomiles, was deposed in A. D. 1146.

In the West the doctrines abovementioned had a very wide spread, gave greater alarm, and had the most serious consequences. In the church of Rome the corruption and abuses were much greater than in the East, and excited greater indignation in those who had any thing of the spirit of primitive Christianity. Whatever was the origin of the Manichean, or Gnostic doctrines in the West, we find them in all parts of it, from Germany and Flanders to Spain and Italy, and they sowed the seeds of the reformation. Extraordinary as it may

appear, the same general principles from which were derived the earliest corruptions of the Christian doctrine, in the very age of the apostles, were the means of bringing about the reformation of Christianity; and having effected this purpose, they are now become extinct.

Of Tanchelme, who appeared in Flanders about the year A. D. 1122, we know but little, besides his declamations against the corruptions and abuses of the Catholics. The churches, he said, were places of prostitution, the sacraments were profanations, especially that of the eucharist, and he forbade the payment of tithes. He is said to have been followed by three thousand armed men; but no mention is made of any violence they committed, and he himself was knocked on the head by a priest. He had, however, many followers, and the famous Norbert, founder of the order of Premonstré, and a celebrated preacher, was made bishop of Antwerp with a view to reclaim them; and it is said that by the mildness of his address he succeeded with many of them. There were many of this sect in Treves, some of whom were examined by the archbishop Brunon; and others were discovered and burned at Soissons.

About the year A. D. 1147 some heretics appeared at Cologne, two of whom, a bishop and his companion, were burned by the populace, and suffered  
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with great firmness. They called themselves *the poor of Jesus Christ*. They did not wholly reject baptism, but only that of infants. Evervin, the provost of Stenfield in Westphalia, wrote an account of them to Bernard, desiring that he would confute them; and to satisfy him, he published two sermons against them, in which he said they were the heretics foretold by the apostle, forbidding to marry, and abstaining from meats, &c. not being at all aware, that the whole of the description applied much better to his own church.

But it was in the southern provinces of France that opinions hostile to the church of Rome prevailed most, and as a most cruel persecution was excited, and the tribunal of the inquisition was in the next period established with a view to crush them, I shall in this period recite the principal particulars of what I find relating to them, in the order in which they occur.

At a council held at Thoulouse in A. D. 1119, when Calixtus II was present, those who were called Manicheans were condemned, as persons who, under the disguise of religion, condemned the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, lawful marriage, the priesthood, and other ecclesiastical orders, as heretics, and orders were given to repress them by the secular power.

At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1139, the canon of a preceding council at Thoulouse against the heretics who rejected the sacraments of the church was repeated *verbatim*, which shews that the heresy was by no means extinct.

In A. D. 1160 these heretics, as they were called, but then bearing the name of *Poplicani*, spread from the south of France over to England, and at this time they are said to have been very numerous in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, from which place these who appeared in England directly came. They were thirty in all, men and women. Being examined by a council of bishops at Oxford, Gerard, the chief of them, answered, that they were Christians who followed the doctrine of the apostles. Being interrogated on particular articles, it appeared that they did not allow of baptism or the Lord's supper, nor approved of marriage, and made no account of the authority of the church. They were not affected by any exhortations, or menaces, saying, when they were threatened, *Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness sake.* After their condemnation by this council, the king ordered them to be burned on the forehead, to be driven out of the city, forbidding any person to receive them, or give them any relief. However, they received this cruel sentence with joy; saying *Blessed are you when men shall*

*shall hate you, and persecute you.* As it was then winter, and no person gave them any entertainment, they perished miserably of cold and hunger.

In France the proceedings against these people were similar to those in England. At a council at Tours under Alexander III, in A. D. 1163, when they had spread from Thoulouse to Gascony, and other places, it was forbidden to give them any retreat or protection, to have any commerce with them, in buying or selling, under pain of excommunication. When they were discovered, they were ordered to be imprisoned, their goods were to be confiscated, and their meetings, as far as possible, prevented.

In A. D. 1167 they again appeared in great numbers in Flanders, where also they were called *Poplicani*. They offered the archbishop six hundred marks of silver if he would not molest them; but he refusing the sum, they appealed to the pope. At Vezelai the same year seven of these heretics were burned, and one of them, who had asserted his innocence, submitted to the trial by water, and being found guilty, was publicly whipped.

In A. D. 1176 the archbishop of Narbonne, and many other bishops of the province, called an assembly to judge some heretics called *Goodmen*, which was then, and long after, the distinguishing appellation of plain common people, or those who  
were

were not noble. They were, however, supported by the nobility of Lombers, a small town two miles from Albi, and the sentence was pronounced by the bishop of Albi. Being questioned concerning their principles, they were particularly cautious not to advance any thing for which they had not [ the express authority of scripture, which they interpreted literally. They allowed of no oaths, and declaimed violently against the clergy, as wolves in sheep's clothing. In other respects they appear to have been the same with those, who in the same parts had been commonly called Manicheans. They were condemned as heretics, but it is not said what was done to them.

In the same year there appeared in Lombardy heretics called *Cathari*, probably from their pretending to greater purity than the members of the established church, like the *Puritans* in England; and sometimes *Runcarians*, who were labouring people employed in felling trees and clearing the ground, being in general persons in the lower classes of life. They were much encouraged at Milan, when it was in the power of the schismatics, and they made great progress in that neighbourhood, which excited the zeal of the bishop Galbon, who often preached against them.

These people got about this time the appellation of *Albigenses*, and in A. D. 1177 their party appears,



appears, from a letter of Rainier V count of Thoulouse to the abbot and chapter of the Cistercians, to have been very strong in those parts of the country. "This heresy has gained," he says, "even the priests. Churches are abandoned and ruined, baptism is refused, the eucharist held in abomination, penance despised, the creation of man rejected, as well as the resurrection of the flesh, and all the mysteries. In fine they introduce the two principles, and yet nobody thinks of opposing these wretches. I am willing to employ the sword that is put into my hands, but my forces are not sufficient, because the nobles of my estates are infected with these errors, and draw great multitudes after them." He then expresses a wish that the king of France would come and put an end to the mischief.

On hearing this representation, the kings of France and England agreed in A. D. 1178 to go in person, and drive these heretics out of the province of Thoulouse; but before they did this, they sent prelates to reason with them, and convert them. These, arriving at Thoulouse, found the chief of the heretics to be one Peter Moran, an old man, very wealthy, and of great consideration in that city. Being found to be a heretic, he was sent to prison; and tho' he recanted, all his property was confiscated, and he was farther ordered to leave the coun-

country in forty days, to serve the poor at Jerusalem three years, to go every Sunday over all the churches in Thoulouse barefoot, and in his shirt to receive discipline. At the same time Roger of Beders, a lord of that country, who is said to have held the bishop of Albi prisoner under a guard of heretics, tho' it is not said on what account, was declared to be a heretic, and a traitor; he was publicly excommunicated, and war was declared against him. Two of their chiefs demanding a public hearing, it was granted them in the cathedral of Thoulouse, when many persons were present; and tho' they denied many things that were laid to their charge, such evidence was produced against them, that they were excommunicated, and banished.

We now begin to perceive the approach of a more serious persecution. At a council of Lateran in A. D. 1179 it was ordered, that "tho' the church rejects bloody executions, it ought to be aided by the laws of Christian princes; and the fear of corporal punishment has sometimes made persons have recourse to spiritual remedies;" and since the heretics called Cathari, Paterini, and Poplicani, were so fortified in Gascony, that they did not hide themselves, but taught their errors publicly, they were anathematized, together with all those who protected them.

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Three years after this, viz. in A. D. 1181 the pope's legate Henry, who from being abbot of Clairvaux, was made a cardinal, and bishop of Albana, being sent to France, marched against the Albigenses with a great army, took the castle of Lavoux, and obliged Roger de Beziers, and many others, to abjure their heresy. In the beginning of the year A. D. 1183 the bishop of Rheims condemned to the flames, with confiscation of their goods, many of the Patarins, clergy, gentlemen, peasants, and women.

In the year following, viz. A. D. 1184, at a council at Verona, where pope Lucius III, attended by the emperor, presided, all the heresies then existing were condemned by name; the bishops were required to make strict inquiry after them, and the temporal powers to punish them according to the degrees of their guilt, as distinguished by those who were *convicted*, *penitent*, and *relapsed*. In this, says Fleury, we see the origin of the *inquisition*, which was established afterwards. Among the heretics condemned at this time were some who were called *Passagins*, who contended for the strict observance of the law of Moses, denied the trinity, and condemned the Fathers and the church of Rome in general. Another class of heretics condemned at this time are called *Humiliés*. They were originally men and women who lived in great poverty.

poverty by the labour of their hands, the men altogether in one place, and the women in another. The pope approved of their institute, and gave them leave to preach even in churches, with the leave of the prelates. But many under that disguise preached other doctrines.

The *poor of Lyons*, which is another class of heretics censured at this council, arose in A. D. 1160, from one Peter Valdo, who being struck with the sudden death of a person in a public assembly, distributed a large sum of money to the poor, and admonished others to do the same, and live in voluntary poverty, in imitation of Christ and the apostles. Being in some measure learned, Valdo explained the scriptures to his followers, and tho' reprov'd for this by the clergy, he persisted in doing it, exclaiming against these on account of their corrupt morals and doctrine. Some say the Waldenses took their name from this Valdo; but, as they existed in the vallies of Piedmont long before this time, and professed a purer doctrine than that of the church of Rome it is more probable that if this was not his original name, which is very possible, he might take it from them. These poor of Lyons were distinguished by wearing wooden shoes with the sign of the cross upon them. From this circumstance they also got the appellation of *Sabbatati*,  
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and *Infabbatati*, *sabot* being the word for a wooden shoe in France. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 451. These poor of Lyons were so far from considering themselves as heretics that they applied to pope Innocent III for the confirmation of their order but were refused. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 65.

The Albigenses had bishops, and each of them had two vicars, an elder and a younger. They had also deacons, and the veneration in which the common people held their clergy almost exceeds belief. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 446.

All that the proper *Waldenses* aimed at in this respect was to reduce the form of church government, and the manners of the clergy, to their primitive simplicity. They denied the supremacy of the pope, and said that the ministers of religion were obliged, like the apostles, to procure a subsistence by the labour of their hands. They remonstrated against indulgences, confession to a priest, prayers for the dead, and purgatory. They interpreted the sermon on the mount in a literal sense, condemning all wars, law suits, and oaths. They had bishops, presbyters, and deacons; and the common people were divided into two classes the *perfect*, and *imperfect*, the former divesting themselves of all worldly possessions. Some of the Waldenses allowed the Catholic church to be a

true church, and its sacraments valid; but others considered the pope as Antichrist. Ib. p. 454.

Other heretics condemned on this occasion are called *Josepins*, or *Mesopins*, but the reason of the denomination is not known.

In A. D. 1198 one Ferric, a leading person among the Poplicani, being discovered in Nevernois, was burned, and many other persons of good fortune at Charité were excommunicated, and delivered over to the secular arm.

The persons who distinguished themselves the most in this class of heretics, or rather reformers, and who therefore deserve a more particular mention were Peter of Bruis, and from whom the sectaries were sometimes called *Petrobrussians*, and an Italian of the name of *Henry*, from whom many were denominated *Henricians*. They both preached with so much success in Provence, Dauphiny, and the south of France in general, that many persons were rebaptized, the churches profaned, the altars overturned, crosses burned, priests whipped, monks imprisoned, or compelled to marry. They had even made a bonfire of many crosses, and to shew the greater contempt of them, they cooked victuals at the fire, and invited the people publicly to eat of them, tho' it was on good Friday.

In A. D. 1147 Eugenius III sent Alberic bishop of Ostia to combat these heretics, and he was accompanied by Bernard, Peter abbot of Clugni, who gives an account of this preaching expedition, employs a long letter to refute the heretics; and from this it appears that they rejected the authority of the old testament, the baptism of infants, the sacrifice of the mass, and prayers for the dead. We know very little of the history of Peter de Bruis, but soon after this mission of Alberic he was burned alive at St. Gilles, after having preached near twenty years.

Henry was in the diocese of Mans, where he was favourably received by Hildebert the bishop, who was then setting out for Rome. Henry was then a young man, very tall, had a strong voice, and a long beard. He walked barefooted, and had a great appearance of sanctity. As he was very eloquent, the people crowded to him, and the effect of his preaching was an universal rage against the clergy; so that many people would have no dealings with their domestics. They would even have pulled down their houses, and stoned them, if the lords had not interposed. Hildebert, in consequence of this, not being well received by the people, banished Henry from his diocese.

After this we find Henry in the neighbourhood of Thoulouse, and there he was when Alberic and

Bernard undertook their expedition. Accordingly, before they went thither Bernard wrote to Alphonso, count of St. Gilles and Thoulouse, in whose territories Henry was, informing him of all the mischief he had done, and desiring that he would make particular inquiry into the manner in which he had left Laufanne, Mans, Poitiers, and Bourdeaux, in all which places he had no doubt been.

According to this letter of Bernard, this reformer must have preached with great effect, "The churches," he says, "are without people, the people without priests, the priests despised, the churches no longer considered as holy places, nor the sacraments holy things; the festivals are not celebrated, men die without penance, or communion, and infants are not baptized." A disciple of Henry named Pons was then at Peregord, but the city the most infected with his opinions was Albi. At this city the legate arrived at the end of June, where the people met him on asses, and with beating of drums, by way of mockery; and when he performed mass, he was hardly attended by thirty persons. Notwithstanding this unpromising reception, when Bernard preached, the writer of his life, who represents him as working miracles wherever he went, says that he converted all the people; which, he says, was the greatest



greatest miracle that he wrought in all this journey. He preached with the same success at Thoulouse, so that Henry, being summoned to surrender himself, fled, and his followers, who on this occasion are called *Arians*, with him. Bernard followed his steps, and at length he was apprehended, and being put into the power of the bishops, and carried before pope Eugenius, who was holding a council at Rheims, he was committed a close prisoner in A. D. 1148, and soon after he died. He had, however, a milder fate than Peter de Bruis. This Henry is by some called a disciple of Peter de Bruys. But this is improbable. The latter could not bear the sight of a cross, whereas the former carried a crucifix in his hand. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 448.

He, however, adopted all the opinions of Peter, and added to them some of his own. Of those the principal were that spiritual songs are an insult to the deity; that he only delights in pious affections; that he is not to be invoked by loud vociferation, nor soothed by the harmony of music: This is the first time that I have met with this sentiment, which was afterwards adopted by the Quakers. *Berington's life of Abelard*, p. 315.

Calin, a chief of Bosnia, having received a great number of Paterins, Innocent III wrote to Emeric king of Hungary in A. D. 1200, charging

him to compel Calin to drive them out of his territories, with the confiscation of their goods ; otherwise he would proceed against all the kingdom of Hungary.

About the same time many Manicheans, as they were called, were discovered at Orvieto near Rome, whither this doctrine had been brought from Florence by one Diotofalvi, a person of a venerable and modest appearance, about the year A. D. 1150. He preached in conjunction with one Gerard Marston in Campania. They were driven out of Orvieto by the bishop, but were succeeded by two women, who leading a pious and contemplative life, drew many into their opinions. On this the bishop, assisted by the civil officers, pursued them with so much vigour, that some were hanged, some beheaded, some burned, and others banished ; and those who died were deprived of the rites of Christian burial. In the absence of this bishop, the heretics got the upper hand again ; but in A. D. 1199 pope Innocent sent Peter di Parenzo, a noble Roman, to suppress them ; which he seemed to have done by violence of every kind ; but at length the heretics having gotten him into their power, murdered him.

In the same year Bertram, bishop of Metz, informed the pope of many heretics being in his diocese. They had translated into French the gospels,  
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the epistles of Paul, the psalms, the books of morals, Job, and some others, which they read with great ardour, holding assemblies in secret, and exhorting one another, in contempt of the priests, the pope, and the hierarchy in general.

In A. D. 1201 Evraud, a knight, and steward of Henry count of Nevers, was convicted of the heresy of the Bulgarians, which did not differ from that of those mentioned above, and was burned in public at Nevers. On this his nephew, a canon of Nevers, infected with the same heresy, fled to the province of Narbonne, where he was received with honour, but thought proper to change his name.

Such being the state of things in all the southern provinces of France, we cannot wonder that the popes and the court of Rome were alarmed. The whole craft was in danger, and therefore, as political men, they exerted themselves to the utmost to extirpate these heretics, employing all the power they had for the purpose, and in the next period we shall see the shocking cruelties they were guilty of. At present they only tried some preparatory measures. Innocent III sent into those provinces two Cistercian monks, Rainier and Gui, in order to convert these heretics; but at the same time he ordered all princes, counts, and other lords, to assist them with their secular power; and after the

sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, to confiscate their goods, banish them, or punish them more severely, if they remained in the country. Rainier was also instructed to excommunicate those lords who would not join him in this, and lay their estates under an interdict. The pope also granted to those who engaged in this extirpation of heretics the same privileges as if they had gone on the pilgrimage to Rome, or Compostella. This, however, was only a prelude to what we shall find in the next period.

Spain was by no means free from this infection of heresy. In A. D. 1197 Peter II of Arragon ordered all his officers to drive the Waldenses out of his territories, or to burn them alive, and confiscate their property.

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## SECTION VIII.

*Of Arnold of Brescia, and Abelard.*

THE reformers of religion, in consequence, no doubt, in some measure, of their having been generally oppressed by the civil powers, have almost always been the zealous advocates of civil liberty; and on the other hand the friends of civil

civil liberty have often been suspected of heresy. This was the case with Arnold, a citizen of Brescia, in the North of Italy, in this period. He had formerly been a disciple of Abelard; but it does not appear that he derived any of his principles from him. Whether Arnold had ever been in a monastery does not appear, but he wore the dress of a monk, and declaimed against the bishops, without sparing the pope, or even the monks; nor did he flatter the laity, tho' he exhorted them to assert their liberties.

What were the peculiar opinions of Arnold does not appear, but he was suspected of entertaining sentiments unfavourable to baptism and the Lord's supper. His discourses had such an effect at Brescia, and many other cities in Lombardy, that the clergy were held in the greatest contempt, and became the objects of public raillery. Being complained of by the bishop, he was ordered to be silenced, on which he retired to Zurich, and infected all that country with his opinions. In the mean time he was condemned at the council of Lateran in A. D. 1139.

Arnold being now in the diocese of the bishop of Constance, Bernard, to whom nothing relating to the interest of the church was indifferent, wrote to him to urge him to guard against so dangerous a person, whose austere life gave credit to his

doctrine; so that he more easily insinuated his errors, and those of Abelard. He advised the bishop not to banish, but confine him, lest he should only go from place to place, and thereby propagate his errors the more widely. What was the consequence of this advice does not appear. But on the accession of pope Eugenius in A. D. 1145, Arnold came to Rome, and joined the disaffected party there, exhorting them to follow the example of the ancient Romans, to rebuild the Capitol, restore the dignity of the senate, and the order of knights; saying that the pope had nothing to do with the civil government of the city, and that he ought to be content with his spiritual jurisdiction. We shall see in a later period that this was a favourite opinion of many of the people of Rome, and on this was founded the influence of Rienzi in the time of Petrarch.

Ten years after this we still find Arnold at Rome, and preaching publicly. But one of his followers having wounded a cardinal in A. D. 1145, Adrian IV laid the city under an interdict, in consequence of which the people applied to him, promising to expel Arnold and his disciples from the city, and its territory, which accordingly was done. And presently after this, falling into the hands of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, then in Lombardy, three cardinals were sent to demand him, and

and being delivered up to them, he was publicly burned alive, and his ashes were thrown into the Tiber, lest the people should honour his relics, as those of a martyr. Such was the end of this reformer, as well as of many others, in all ages.

Abelard is by no means to be classed with Arnold of Brescia, tho' he was deemed a heretic, and exposed himself to the persecution of Bernard as such. In fact, they were rivals in popularity. However, Abelard acted so conspicuous a part on the public theatre in this period, that his history deserves to be related. He was born near Nantes in Bretagne in A. D. 1079, and when he was grown up addicted himself chiefly to the study of logic, under Roscellin of Compeigne, and then under William de Champeaux at Paris, reckoned the ablest teacher of his time. But Abelard soon rivalled his master, and taught at Melun, tho' he afterwards returned to study rhetoric of Champeaux at St. Victor. After this he fixed his school at mount St. Genieve, then out of Paris.

Champeaux being made bishop of Soissons, Abelard went to study theology of Anselm bishop of Laon; but soon despising him, tho' a venerable old man, he himself undertook to explain the scriptures without having regularly prepared himself for doing it, on which Anselm drove him from Laon, and he returned to Paris; where teaching  
logic,

logic, and theology, he was attended by a prodigious number of scholars from all parts; but his success was the cause of his ruin. Undertaking the instruction of Heloisa, niece to Fulbert, a canon of the church of Paris, a young woman of an uncommonly fine genius, and great accomplishments, he had a criminal connection with her; and when she was with child he removed her to his sisters where she was delivered of a son; and he promised the uncle, who was much irritated, to marry her, provided it could be done privately. Accordingly, tho' much against her will, they were married in the presence of the uncle, and a few other witnesses, but only had private interviews afterwards.

Fulbert, willing to repair the honour of his family, contrary to his promise, published the marriage, tho' Heloisa denied it, and was on that account ill used by him. On this Abelard removed her to the nunnery of Argenteuil, where she had been educated, and took the habit, but not the veil. Fulbert, provoked at this, caused Abelard to be surprized in the night, and castrated. When he was recovered, he embraced the monastic life, and persuaded Heloisa to do the same; he entering at St. Denis, and she at Argenteuil. After this Abelard again opened his school, and he had  
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so many scholars that they could hardly find lodging or victuals. Some came even from Rome.

In this situation Abelard published a book on the subject of the trinity, in which he maintained that, as in logic the proposition, assumption, and conclusion, are the same discourse; so the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are the same essence, but that the Father alone is the almighty. In this he had no suspicion that he was advancing any heresy; but subtle distinctions and nice comparisons being then much admired, he probably thought he had hit upon one that would do him credit. His popularity, however, together with his vanity, and the asperity of his temper, had raised him many enemies, and among them was the redoubtable Bernard. He was, therefore, accused of heresy at the council of Soissons in A. D. 1121, and without any discussion of the subject, his book was condemned as heretical, and he was ordered to throw it into the fire with his own hands, and also to read, as the confession of his faith, the creed of Athanasius. This mortifying ceremony he submitted to go thro', tho' not without many tears, and as a punishment, he was confined in the monastery of St. Medard at Soissons. After this he was ordered to return to the monastery of St. Denis; but giving offence by something that he advanced concerning that St. Denis, he fled from the place;

place; and having obtained leave to lead a monastic life wherever he pleased, he retired to a solitary place in the diocese of Troyes, where he built an oratory, and called it *the Paraclet*, and was resorted to as before by a great number of pupils. This success again excited envy, and dreading the ill offices of St. Norbert and Bernard, he took upon him the conduct of an obscure abbey at St. Gildas in the diocese of Vannes in Bretagne, and gave the Paraclet to Heloisa, where she established herself as abbess. At St. Gildas he met with every mortification he could well have from the behaviour of the monks, and the lords in the neighbourhood; but all this did not satisfy the malice of his enemies.

In A. D. 1139 complaint was made by William abbot of St. Thieri to Geoffroy bishop of Chartres and St. Bernard, of errors in the writings of Abelard. He was particularly charged with asserting that in God the terms Father, Son and Holy Spirit, are improper, that the Father alone is almighty, the Son a certain power, viz. wisdom, and the Holy Spirit no proper power at all, being only the divine goodness. He was moreover charged with advancing that the Holy Spirit is not of the substance of the Father and of the Son, as the Son is of the substance of the Father, and that the Holy Spirit is the soul of the world. He was  
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also accused of maintaining that man has the power of willing what is good, without the help of divine grace, and that we derive from Adam only the punishment, and not the guilt, of original sin.

After some correspondence on the subject, Abelard challenged his opponent to a public disputation, at a council which was to be held at Sens in A. D. 1140; when the king of France was to be present, and a great number of learned ecclesiastics. Bernard accepted the challenge, and coming prepared for the purpose produced the books of Abelard, and called upon him to defend certain articles which he objected to in them as absurd, and heretical. But Abelard, perceiving the unfavourable disposition of the audience, contented himself with appealing to the pope. The council, offended at his conduct, condemned his doctrine, but out of regard to his appeal, spared his person; but they exhorted the pope to confirm their sentence lest, as they said, the evil should extend itself; since they saw that he drew a great multitude after him, so that a speedy remedy was necessary.


Bernard also wrote to the pope, complaining of Abelard, as having engaged his disciple Arnold of Brescia to attack the church in conjunction with him; observing that they had an appearance of piety in their manner of living, which served to seduce many. Abelard, he said, extolled the philosophers,

sophers, in order to vilify the doctors of the church. He strongly urged him to suppress this heresy, after having extinguished the schism. "Nothing more," he said, "is wanting to your crown." In animadverting upon the errors of Abelard, he charged him in this letter with advancing that the end of Christ's incarnation was only to instruct us by his example and his doctrine, representing him, in fact, as a Pelagian.

The pope, in compliance with these requests, which with respect to Bernard were equivalent to commands, in A. D. 1149 passed a sentence of condemnation on Abelard, imposing upon him, as a heretic, perpetual silence, and ordering that all his followers should be excommunicated. He likewise directed that Abelard and Arnold should be confined in separate monasteries, and that their books should be burned wherever they could be found.

Notwithstanding this sentence, Abelard pursued his journey to Rome, in order to prosecute his appeal. But stopping at the abbey of Clugni, where he was kindly received by Peter the abbot, by his advice he made his peace with Bernard, retracted every thing he had advanced that had given offence, and consented to pass the remainder of his life in that monastery. To this the pope consented; and when Abelard had, in a most inoffensive

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five and exemplary manner, passed two years in that monastery, he died. His remains were carried to the Paraclet, where they were received in a manner the relation of which is very affecting by Heloisa, who survived him more than twenty years; he dying in A. D. 1142 and she in A. D. 1163. See Mr. *Berington's* well written, and most instructive *life of Abelard*.

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## SECTION IX.

*Of the various Opinions advanced in this Period.*

AS this was an age of much speculation, and metaphysical subtlety, we are not surprized at the advancement of singular opinions. Had the church had less power, and there not had been a disposition so very hostile to all innovations, this turn for speculation might have had valuable consequences. It was the introduction of the works of Aristotle into the schools of Christians that was the chief cause of this refinement, and four men particularly distinguished themselves by their attachment to his philosophy; Peter Lombard bishop of Paris, Abelard, Peter of Poitiers, and Gilbert of Poiree bishop of Poitiers.

Their opinions were sometimes called the *four labyrinths*, into which the old church men said the church had fallen thro' this philosophy.

Gilbert of Porée had advanced that the *divine essence* was not *God*. He was likewise charged with advancing various other subtleties about the distinction of the persons in the trinity; and as every new opinion, or singular mode of expression, excited alarm, he was examined on the subject at Paris in A. D. 1146, and the year following at Rheims, in a council held by pope Eugenius, Bernard being present and conducting the examination. But, after much disputation, Gilbert made the concessions that were required of him, and thus the business terminated, without any serious consequences.

In the catechism of the Greek church there was an anathema against the *God of Mahomet*, as neither *begetting nor begotten*. This the emperor Manuel Comnenus wished to have taken away, as it shocked the Mahometans, that God should be anathematized. But the prelates rejected the proposal, since the anathema was not against the true God, but a mere phantom. However the emperor persisting the anathema was at length changed for one against "Mahomet, his doctrine, and his sect."

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In A. D. 1166 a council was held at Constantinople on occasion of one Demetrius having reported that the Germans were in an error for maintaining that the Son was at the same time equal to the Father, and inferior to him. This question having been the subject of much disputation about six years, the council, without entering into the merits of the question, contented themselves with pronouncing an anathema against those who did not assent to the doctrine of the church. Nothing of any importance, or at all new, was advanced on the occasion, and nothing of consequence followed from it.

Peter Lombard having asserted that Jesus Christ *as man* was not, strictly speaking, a *thing* or *substance*, it gave great offence to pope Alexander III, who proposed to have the opinion condemned at the council of Lateran in A. D. 1179; but some disciples of Lombard standing up to defend it, the discussion was deferred. Afterwards, however, the pope ordered his legate in France to assemble the doctors of the schools of Paris, Rheims, and other cities, and to forbid the teaching of it, under pain of anathema.

In Lombardy we find a sect called *Passaginians*, who held that the law of Moses was obligatory on Christians, excepting, however, what related to sa-

crifices. They circumcised their children, abstained from the meats prohibited in the pentateuch, and they observed the Jewish sabbath. Like the Jews they also denied the doctrine of the trinity, maintaining that Christ was the first and purest creature of God. Nor, says Mosheim, are we to wonder at this, when we consider the great number of Arians with which Italy formerly abounded. Vol. 2. p. 456.

In Burgundy we find persons called *Caputiati*, from a singular kind of cap which they wore, and in which they put a leaden image of the virgin Mary. They professed, as it is said, to level all distinctions, to abrogate magistracy, and restore primitive liberty. These were probably mere calumnies, the same things being frequently charged on other advocates for liberty civil or ecclesiastical. However Hugo bishop of Auxerre employed arms, instead of arguments, to reduce them. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 457.

Many Christians in the East were attached to the Eutychian doctrine; and being no longer subject to the emperor of Constantinople, they openly professed their opinions, and formed separate churches. Both the Armenians, and the generality of the Egyptian Christians, were of this class. Many persons, who were more offended than was  
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necessary at these divisions among Christians; took much pains to unite them. In A. D. 1170 Norfesis the Catholic, as he was called, a patriarch of the Armenians, wrote to the emperor Manuel Comnenus on the subject of the difference between their church and that of Constantinople, and in consequence of this he sent Theorian, who had a long conference with Norfesis, which terminated in his intire satisfaction; so that he promised to use his best endeavours to bring over his nation to acknowledge the council of Chalcedon, and to condemn those who were condemned by it. Nothing, however, seems to have followed from it; and to this day the two churches are as far separated from each other as ever.

The Greek and Latin churches, tho' they had little communication in this period, were not in a state of declared hostility to each other. The emperor Manuel Comnenus had a correspondence with pope Alexander III; and William archbishop of Tyre spending a winter at Constantinople, speaks in the highest terms of his piety; which shews, says Fleury, that the Latin church then considered the Greek church as Catholic, and that the schism between them was not properly formed. But Theodore Balsamon, in his Commentary on the Nomocanon of Photius, speaks of the bishops of antient Rome as cut off from other churches,

and laments it, expressing his hope of their conversion ; and this is the first direct proof of the schism of the Greeks, or the separation of the two churches.

So great was the inveteracy of the Greeks against the Latins, inflamed, no doubt, by their conduct in the crusades, that in April A. D. 1182 they made a general massacre of those that were settled in Constantinople. They had been in great favour with the emperor Manuel Comnenus, who employed them in preference to the Greeks, finding them better qualified to serve him. This made them exceedingly odious to the Greeks, the priests also continually representing them as heretics, for not conforming to their customs. The Greeks did not, on this occasion, spare even the churches of the Latins, but burned them, together with all the persons who had taken refuge in them, without any distinction of priests, monks, or laymen ; and among the rest perished John a cardinal subdeacon, who had been sent to promote an union between the two churches. After cutting off his head, they tied it to the tail of a dog, and thus dragged it thro' the streets. The most humane sold to the Turks those who took refuge with them ; and of those there were said to have been more than four thousand, of every age, and of both sexes. Those of the Latins who escaped this massacre took a cruel revenge

revenge for it. For, assembling near Constantinople, they went from the mouth of the Hellespont to the black sea, killing all the inhabitants they met with, plundering monasteries, and churches, in which they found immense booty. They also collected many galleys, and thereby raised a formidable fleet.

There are few periods in this history in which something does not occur relating to the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. About the year A. D. 1192 there was a dispute whether the words *I baptize thee* were not necessary to Christian baptism; Macarion, the bishop of Paris, saying that without those words the baptism was null, and Stephen bishop of Tournay that it was valid; those words being necessary to the solemnity, tho' not to the substance of baptism. Some time after pope Alexander III decided according to the opinion of the bishop of Paris, those words being necessary to distinguish the intention of the minister from any other ab-lution.

There was in this period a violent dispute among the Greeks, in which Emanuel Comnenus took a part very unbecoming an emperor, about the sense in which it might be affirmed that an incarnate God was at the same time the *offerer* and the *oblation*. It was the occasion of much discord and inconvenience to the empire, but how the

controversy was decided does not appear. The Greeks were also divided into deplorable factions by the controversy about the sense in which Christ said that the *Father was greater than the Son*. The emperor warmly interested himself in this question; also publishing an explanation of the text, in which he maintained that the words related to *the flesh that was hid in Christ, and that was passible*, or subject to suffering. He also published an edict denouncing capital punishments against such as should controvert his opinion. But the next emperor, Andronicus, forbade all disputing on the subject. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 434.

About the year A. D. 1200 there arose a question in the Greek church whether the eucharistical elements, or the body of Christ, was corruptible, as before his passion, or incorruptible, as afterwards. This so much divided the people, that it was the subject of conversation in all places. Nicetas, who gives an account of this controversy, does not say how it terminated; but he observes that the emperor took the right side, which, of course, was his own, viz. that it was incorruptible. So popular was this opinion, that they who held that the eucharistical elements were subject to corruption, and consequently to the process of digestion, and its consequences, were by way of opprobrium called *Stercorarists*. At the council of  
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Sens, in A. D. 1190, Rainold abbot of St. Martins of Nevers was accused as coming under this denomination, and also of maintaining, after Origen, that in the end all men will be saved.

In the pontificate of Clement III a question arose whether the water mixed with the wine in the eucharist was changed into the blood of Christ. Innocent III gave it as his opinion that it was. The water, he said, is mixed with the wine, to represent the people united to Christ; but this observation seems to militate against his opinion. The first time that we find the word *transubstantiation* is in the letters of Hildebert archbishop of Tours in this period. He died in A. D. 1133.

Much of the refinement and nice distinctions in theology, speculative and practical, came from the monks, who had leisure for that purpose. Bernard, in treating of the love of God, says, "there are four degrees of it, the first is for our own sakes, the second from a principle of gratitude, the third for the sake of God, without respect to ourselves, and the fourth is the love of ourselves only for the sake of God. The last" he says, "can only be felt occasionally here, but will be the fixed state of the blessed hereafter." These distinctions the intelligent reader will perceive to be in some measure confirmed by the more accurate observations of Dr. Hartley.

As the last article under the title of this section, I would observe that pope Pascall II, being at Florence in A. D. 1106, held a council, in which there was much disputing with the bishop of that city, who maintained that Antichrist was then born. The novelty of the subject drew a great company, but nothing was determined about it.

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## SECTION X.

*Of the State of the Jews in this Period.*

AFTER the composition of the Chaldee paraphrases, and the Talmud, which was completed about the year A. D. 500, the Jews produced not more than five or six books from the time of Christ to this period. But at this time they applied to literature in imitation of the Christians, and Mahometans, and from this time they composed many works.

Their first author of note was Nathan, who began to distinguish himself in A. D. 1050, and died at Rome in A. D. 1106. He wrote a Dictionary, to explain the difficult words in the Talmud. After him came Abenezra, who wrote commentaries on the scriptures. He was a Spaniard,  
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and died at Rhodes in A. D. 1174. At the same time lived in France Solomon Jarchi, who taught at Paris, and wrote commentaries on all the Bible and on the Talmud. He died in A. D. 1181.

But the most famous of all their writers was Maimonides, a native of Cordova, born in A. D. 1135. He was a disciple of Averroes, who was also of Cordova, and one of the greatest philosophers among the Arabians. He wrote a commentary on the works of Aristotle, which having been translated from Arabic into Latin, was afterwards used in the schools of Christians. From Spain Maimonides went into Egypt, where he practiced medicine, and wrote many works, among which the most useful is titled *More Nevachim*, in which he explains difficult passages of scripture. But the Jews in the East were offended at his writings, not bearing that the philosophy of Aristotle should be used to explain their religion. His principal opponent in the West was Solomon of Montpellier; but his part was taken by other Jews, especially at Narbonne. This occasioned a kind of schism among the Jews, who excommunicated one another for forty years. The reputation of Maimonides was at length, however, universally established among the Jews. He died in A. D. 1201. His principal defender was David Kimchi, a Spanish Jew, and a distinguished grammarian.

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The crusades were always injurious to the Jews, the bigotted multitude wreaking their vengeance on them, as the enemies of Christianity, no less than the Mahometans. Also the wealth that many of them had at this time acquired, especially by usury, was another incitement to plunder them. And even the most moderate among the Christians were far from doing them proper justice. On the occasion of the second crusade, in which many Jews were murdered in France and Germany, Peter, abbot of Clugni, exhorted the king of France to prevent their being put to death; but he advised him to punish them by the confiscation of their goods, and making slaves of them, taking from them, he says, their unlawful gains, not only by usury, but by purchasing holy vessels, of men who robbed the churches. Pope Innocent III, in his bull for the crusade, forbade those who took the cross to pay usury to the Jews, tho' in other respects he favoured them, and prohibited the ill usage to which they had been exposed.

About the year A. D. 1180 there were many reports of children being crucified by Jews, in various parts of France and England, and of miracles being wrought on the deaths of such children, which excited a general hatred of the Jews. Philip Augustus king of France conceived the greatest aversion to them. Such at that time were their  
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reputation and number in Paris, that they were in possession of near one half of the city, and in defiance of the laws they had Christian slaves. They practiced usury without bounds, and often had the sacred vessels of churches as pledges. On the representation of this, the king discharged all Christians from their obligation to pay any debt due to a Jew, keeping the fifth part for himself; and in April A. D. 1182, he published an edict, ordering all Jews to quit the kingdom; giving them, however, leave to sell their effects, but confiscating their houses and lands. Accordingly, except some who were induced to make profession of Christianity, in July the same year they actually left the kingdom, with their wives, children, and all their dependants; and the year following the king converted their synagogues into Christian churches. However in July A. D. 1198 he recalled the Jews.

In A. D. 1189 Richard king of England having given an order not to admit any Jews, or women, on a particular occasion at court, it was reported that he had ordered them to be destroyed; and in consequence of the mistake many of them were put to death, in various parts of the kingdom. All the Jews in York, to the number of five hundred, perished. Being in a castle, surrounded day and night, and unable to defend themselves, they killed one another, their wives, children, and domesticks.

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The few who remained were killed by the people, who plundered their houses; and their papers being burned, the Christians thought themselves discharged from all the debts due to them.

In A. D. 1167 an Arabian persuaded many Jews in Spain that he had orders from God to conduct them to the Messiah: Maimonides, being consulted on the occasion, advised them to pay no regard to him. He was, however, followed by great numbers. Being apprehended, he persisted in asserting his divine mission, and said that if his head was cut off he should immediately come to life again. He was beheaded, but without his coming to life, and the whole nation was severely punished for their credulity. *Pittet*, A. D. 1167.

A short time after this a leprous Jew, being cured, believed that he was the Messiah, and gave himself out for such to the Jews who lived beyond the Euphrates. This impostor having many followers gave occasion to a new persecution of that people, tho' they were soon undeceived with respect to him. *Ib.*

Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Spain, finished his travels into the East A. D. 1173. His account contains so many improbable things, especially with respect to the numbers that he found of his nation, and their flourishing circumstances, that little dependance can be placed upon it.

SECTION

## SECTION XI.

*Miscellaneous Articles:*

1. **T**HE knowledge of Christianity was extended a little in the Northern parts of Europe in this period, and by such means as had been employed for the same purpose before. In A. D. 1125 Otho, bishop of Bamberg, was instrumental in converting the Pomeranians, the prince and the chiefs having been gained in the first place; so that the historian says, the conversion went on rapidly, especially when the people were promised a diminution of their taxes. It deserves to be noticed that, among the instructions given to these people relating to their new religion, they were forbidden to eat blood, or animals that had been strangled; from which it appears that at this time, in Europe as well as in all other parts of the Christian world, such food was thought to be unlawful.

About the year A. D. 1150 Eric king of Sweden, accompanied by Henry bishop of Upsal, made an expedition against the Finlanders, in order to convert them to Christianity. After a victory obtained over them, the gospel was preached to the rest, when they were baptized, churches were settled in the country, and the bishop remained with  
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the new converts while the king returned to Sweden; but when the bishop would have compelled one of them to do penance, the man killed him.

In A. D. 1168 the inhabitants of the isle of Rugen, being conquered by Valdemar king of Denmark, consented to embrace Christianity. And when by the labours of Meinard, a canon of Sigeberg, many of the Livonians were converted to Christianity, about A. D. 1186, being made a bishop, he established his see in Rugen. Valdemar was greatly assisted in his labours to promote Christianity by Abfalom bishop of London who acted at the same time in the capacities of archbishop, general, admiral, and prime minister. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 356.

The Slavonians, who had always shewn the greatest aversion to Christianity, were at length brought over by the endeavours of the neighbouring princes. The most eminent preacher employed by them was Vicelinus, a native of Hamelen, who surpassed almost all his cotemporaries in piety and learning; and who, after having resided many years in a society of regular canons of St. Austin, at Falderen, was made bishop of Oldenburg. *Ib.* P. 349.

In this period a Nestorian priest, whose name was *John*, invaded and conquered a hord of Tartars, and as he was a presbyter before his elevation,

tion, he continued to be called *Presbyter*, or *Presbyter John*. Of this prince and his dominions the highest notions were entertained by the Christians in the West, from the letters which he wrote to the emperor Frederic, and also to Emanuel the Greek emperor. His son David commonly went by the name of his father. But he was conquered and deprived of his life and dominions by the famous Genghiscan. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2, p. 362.

2. In this period literature made a very considerable progress, many persons of distinguished abilities, and indefatigable in teaching and writing, having applied themselves to it; tho' what they chiefly insisted upon, we should not now think of much value. But it was a great thing to indulge any freedom of speculation, in such an age of high church authority; and the acuteness which was exercised on logic, metaphysics, and such theology as was made to accord with them, prepared the minds of men for making more accurate and more important distinctions in a later period.

In the beginning of the twelfth century Wm. de Champeaux, bishop of Chalons; and master of Abelard, obtained the title of *column of tutors*, tho' much inferior to his pupil, of whose success in teaching mention has been made already. But the most decisive proof of the attention that was paid to literature in this age, and of the reputation

acquired by it, is the history of Heloisa, whose epistles written in latin are superior to the other productions of that age, and worthy of any.

At the head of the schools was Peter Lombard, who was made bishop of Paris in A. D. 1159. He composed a work called the *book of sentences*, containing a system of theology extracted from the Fathers ; and it had the same success with the work of Gratian with respect to the canon law. All the teachers of theology for several centuries afterwards used this book as a text, and two hundred and forty four authors wrote commentaries on it. Before this time it had been the custom to explain all questions in theology by the philosophy of Aristotle, which was thought to have led many persons into errors, as Roscellin, Abelard and Gilbert de Porrée. St. Bernard was also a zealous opposer of the scholastics, who were also attacked by the modern mystics, as well as the advocates for the old divinity. *Mosheim*, Vol. 1, p. 428.

Pope Alexander III, in a council held at Rome A. D. 1179, ordered the erecting new schools in the monasteries and cathedral churches, and restoring to their primitive lustre those which, thro' the sloth or ignorance of the monks or bishops, had fallen into ruin. But such was the celebrity of the schools established at Salerno, Bologna, Paris, and Montpellier, that the episcopal and monastic school—

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schools were deserted, and sunk into total oblivion. Ib. Vol. 2, p. 378.

The Arabic schools in Spain were also much frequented by christians. Peter the abbot of Clugni travelled to Toledo, and translated into latin the Koran, and the life of Mahomet. Ib. p. 385.

About the year A. D. 1176, Peter Comestor, a priest of Troyes, and afterwards chancellor of the church of Paris, published an ecclesiastical history from the creation to the time of the apostles, a work which, tho' very imperfect, and abounding with false interpretations of scripture, was for three hundred years considered as a body of positive theology, equal to the works of Gratian and Peter Lombard. Having for some time presided in the schools of theology at Paris, he retired to St. Victor, and died in A. D. 1179.

In this period the study of the *civil law*, or the Roman jurisprudence, came into vogue, in consequence of the discovery of a copy of Justinian's Pandects at Amalphi, when it was conquered by Roger king of Sicily, the emperor Lothaire, and the Pisans in conjunction. This was the best system of the civil law, and being published by the order of Lothaire, it was publicly taught at Bologna and other places; and as all literature was in the hands of the clergy, and they found the general maxims of the civil law favourable to their

power, this system was in a great measure adopted by most christian states, and taught in conjunction with the *canon law*. England was perhaps the only country, that had at any time been subject to the Romans, which retained its antient laws without any mixture of the civil.

3. A few particulars relating to the customs and discipline of the church in this period are deserving of notice.

It appears by the letters of pope Pascal II, that, in his time, young children were not only baptized, but received the communion; and it also appears by the writings of Hugh Victor, a famous teacher who died in A. D. 1142, that the *eucharist* was given to them in both kinds, the wine being given to them by dipping the finger in it, and putting it into their mouths. But at a council held at London in A. D. 1175, it was forbidden to give the bread dipped in the wine, on the pretence of making the communion more complete; it having by this means become customary, at least in some places, to give the bread only, that being the natural consequence of the doctrine of this bread being the real body of Christ, which of course could not be destitute of blood.

Gui Paré, the pope's legate in Germany, being at Cologne in A. D. 1201, directed the people to prostrate themselves at the sound of a bell during  
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the elevation of the host, and also that a bell should be sounded when it was carried in procession, in order to warn the people to adore it ; and in time these practices became universal ; having been the natural consequence of considering this host as the same thing with Christ himself in persons, and that person no less than God.

In this period the festival of the *conception of the Virgin Mary* was introduced by the people of Lyons. Bernard wrote to them to shew his disapprobation of the novelty, at the same time that he approved of the festival of his *nativity* and *assumption*. She had the privilege, he said, of living without sin, but not that of being born without the taint of original sin, which was peculiar to Christ.

The observance of Sunday, as a day of rest from all labour, was gradually introduced among christians, and required to be enforced by the orders of councils. Eustache, a disciple of Norville, a famous itinerant preacher, authorised by the pope, came to England in this period, and preached at York ; persuading the people to have no fairs on sundays, but to rest from all servile work from noon on saturdays till sun-rise on Monday ; but king John was offended at it, and ordered the markets to be kept on sundays as before.

In this period interdicts had been much abused, and even found to be attended with many in-

conveniences, and in consequence of it, in A. D. 1195, the pope recommended particular and not general interdicts; because, as he said, when there was no public worship, the heretics took advantage of it to seduce the people.

To give a better idea of the spirit of the religion that prevailed in this period, it may not be amiss to mention the particulars of the penance appointed by pope Innocent III, for the murder of the bishop of Virsburg in A. D. 1203, who was killed by two knights, his own vassals, named Boden and Henry. Being driven out of the country after having been excommunicated, they went and submitted themselves to the pope, who imposed upon them the following penance. Never to appear in arms except against the Saracens or for self defence, never to wear green (*petit gris*) or *ermine*, or any coloured cloth, never to attend at any public spectacle; not to marry again if they should lose their wives; to go as soon as possible to the holy land, to serve there four years against the Saracens, and in going thither to walk barefoot, and clothed in wool, like public penitents; to fast on bread and water on wednesdays and fridays, ember week, and vigils, to have three fasts, viz. before easter, whitfuntide, and christmas, and never to eat flesh but on those festivals; to chaunt an hundred paternosters, and make a hundred genuflexions every day; not

to receive the eucharist but at the point of death: When they should be beyond the sea they should fast on wednesdays and fridays, and the other days on which flesh meat was allowed in Easter, and never eat flesh but on fundays and thursdays. When they were in safety in any city in Germany, they should go to the great church naked except in drawers, a halter about their necks, and rods in their hands, with which the canons should give them discipline. If any person should ask the reason of it, they were to say, it was for the expiation of their crime. Being returned from beyond the sea, they were to present themselves to the pope to receive his farther orders. The letter which contains an account of this penance was dated the 18th of April, A. D. 1203.

4. Instances of gross superstition may be expected in this period, the whole history exhibiting little else. I shall however, give a few of a particular kind. At a council at Beauvais in A. 1114, two brothers having been apprehended on a charge of heresy, one of them confessed, but the other was tried by being thrown into the water ; and not sinking, he was judged to be guilty. The idea was that the devil, or some evil spirit being within them, they were thereby rendered specifically lighter than water, and therefore could not sink in it. At the same time two other persons who came to see these

brothers were apprehended ; and while the bishops were deliberating on their case, the populace rushed into the prison, and burned them alive without the city.

So great was the superstitious regard for relics, that they were carried from place to place, as an instrument of raising money. In order to raise a sum to rebuild the cathedral church of Laon in France, the people carried not only about France but in England also, the relics which had been saved when it had been burned down ; and miracles being said to be wrought by them, a great sum was collected.

Of superstition leading to the commission of crimes we had some remarkable instances in the preceding period. There occurs one no less so in this. As St. Laurence, bishop of Dublin, was advancing to the altar in the church of Canterbury, at the time of solemn mass in A. D. 1179, a man who was present, hearing that he was a saint, thought it would be meritorious to make him a martyr, like St. Thomas Becket ; and with a great bludgeon he knocked him down. The prelate, however, recovered, and by his intreaty the pious assassin was spared.

Amidst the lamentable superstition of these times, hurtful no doubt to good morals, we perceive the excellent stamina of christianity in the questions

questions proposed to dying persons, and the answers expected to be made to them, supposed to be drawn by Anselm. We find them in different forms in different authors, but much to the same purpose. One of the forms is as follows. *Qu.* Do you believe all the articles of the christian faith? *An.* I believe them. *Qu.* do you rejoice that you die in the faith of a christian? *An.* I do rejoice in it. *Qu.* Do you not acknowledge that you have offended God? *An.* I do, and am sorry for it. *Qu.* Do you resolve to abstain from all mortal sin for the future? *An.* By the help of God I do. *Qu.* Do you believe that you shall arrive at a state of glory by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by your own works? *An.* I do. *Pistet,*  
A. D. 1109.

5. Public tournaments, often ending in bloodshed, were justly offensive to the church. They were forbidden at a council at Rheims in A. D. 1131, as endangering both the body and the soul. They were also forbidden at the council of Lateran in A. D. 1139; but tho' these prohibitions were frequently repeated, they had no effect, the practice continuing four hundred years. At this last mentioned council, the use of cross bows and also of long bows was forbidden against christians and catholics, being probably deemed too destructive weapons.

6. At the same council those who were then called *Brabancons* or *Routiers*, who served any prince for pay, and were of different nations, tho' perhaps principally from Brabant, as their name seem to intimate, men who lived without any religion, were excommunicated; and orders were given that they should not be absolved till they had renounced their pernicious society. It would have been happy if the terrors of superstition had always been employed for such purposes as these.

7. The number of lepers was prodigiously increased in the West, by means of the communication with the East in the crusades. At the time of the council of Lateran in A. D. 1129, the lepers, as they could not attend public worship in company with other christians, were allowed to have churches and priests of their own; and this is the first public act that we meet with concerning lepers.

Another effect of the crusades was the union of the Maronites, who lived about mount Lebanon, and who had been Monothelites, to the latin church, by the patriarch of Antioch, in A. D. 1182. They were then said to be about forty thousand persons.

9. It will be thought not a little extraordinary, but it was said there were some *pagans* in Marseilles so late as in the 13th century. *Lavals History of the reformation in France*, Vol. 1. p. 412.

As

As a favourable specimen of the literature and taste, as well as the piety, of this period, I shall present my readers with a poem in latin rhyme, intitled *Oratio ad Dominum*, written by Hildebert bishop of Mans, first published by archbishop Usher, and copied into the *Annual Register* for the year A. D. 1765.

Extra portam jam delatum,  
Jam foetentem, tumultum,  
Vitta ligat, lapis urget ;  
Sed si jubes hic resurget.

Jube, lapis revolvetur,  
Jube, vitta disrumpetur.  
Exiturus nescit moras,  
Postquam clamas, *Exi foras*.

In hoc salo mea ratis,  
Infestatur a piratis,  
Hinc affultus, inde fluctus,  
Hinc et inde mors et luctus.

Sed tu, bone nauta, veni,  
Preme ventos, mare leni ;  
Fac abscedant hi piratæ,  
Duc ad portum, salva rate.

Infæcunda mea ficus,  
Cujus ramus ramus ficcus,  
Incidetur, incendetur,  
Si promulgas quod meretur.

Sed hoc anno dimittatur,

Stercoretur

Stercoretur, fodiatur,  
Quod si necdum respondebit,  
Flens hoc loquor, tunc ardebit,  
Vetus hostis in me furit,  
Aquis merfat, flammis urit.  
Inde languens et afflictus,  
Tibi soli sum relictus.

Ut hic hostis evanescat,  
Ut infirmus convalescat,  
Tu virtutem jejunandi,  
Des infirmo, des orandi.

Per hæc duo, Christo teste,  
Liberabor ab hac peste,  
Ab hac peste solve mentem,  
Fac devotum, pœnitentem.

Da timorem, quo projecto,  
De salute nil conjecto.  
Da spem, fidem, charitatem,  
Da discretam pietatem.

Da contemptum terrenorum,  
Appetitum supernorum.  
Totum, Deus, in te spero.  
Deus, ex te totum quæro.

Tu laus mea, meum bonum,  
Mea cuncta tuum donum,  
Tu solamen in labore,  
Medicamen in languore.

Tu in luctu mea lyra,



Tu lenimen es in ira ;  
 Tu in arcto liberator,  
 Tu in lapsu relevator.

Metum præstas in provectu,  
 Spem conservas in defectu,  
 Si quis lædit tu rependis,  
 Si minatur tu defendis.

Quod est anceps tu dissolvis.  
 Quod tegendum tu involvis.  
 Tu intrare me non finas  
 Infernales officinas.

Ubi mæror, ubi metus,  
 Ubi fœtor, ubi fletus,  
 Ubi probra deteguntur,  
 Ubi rei confunduntur.

Ubi tortor semper cædens,  
 Ubi vermis semper edens,  
 Ubi totum hoc perenne,  
 Quia perpes mors Gehennæ.

Me receptet Sion illa,  
 Sion David, Urbs tranquilla ;  
 Cujus faber auctor lucis,  
 Cujus portæ signum crucis.

Cujus claves lingua Petri,  
 Cujus cives semper læti.  
 Cujus muri lapis vivus,  
 Cujus custos rex festivus.

In hac urbe lux solennis,

Ver eternum, pax perennis ;  
In hac odor implens cœlos,  
In hac semper festum melos.

Non est ibi corruptela,  
Non defectus, non querela ;  
Non minuti, non deformes.  
Omnes christo sunt conformes.

Urbs cœlestis, urbs beata,  
Supra petram collocata.  
Urbs in portu satis tuto,  
De longinquo te saluto.

Te saluto, te suspiro,  
Te affecto, te requiro.  
Quantum tui gratulentur,  
Quam festive conviventur.

Quis affectus eos stringat,  
Aut quæ gemma muros pingat,  
Quis chalcedon, quis jacinthus,  
Norunt illi qui sunt intus.

In plateis hujus urbis,  
Sociatus piis turbis,  
Cum Moise, et Elia,  
Pium cantem Alleluia.

PERIOD XIX.

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FROM THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE  
BY THE LATINS IN A. D. 1204, TO THE  
TERMINATION OF THE CRUSADES IN A.  
D. 1291.

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## SECTION I.

*The History of the Crusades continued.*

THE taking of Constantinople from the Greek emperors, who had always been the secret or open enemies of the crusaders, was thought to be a decisive advantage to Rome, but eventually it proved to be the ruin of the whole scheme. It alarmed the Mahometan powers and united them, at the same time that it divided the Latin powers, by giving them too many objects ; and among these the original one, which was the recovery of the holy land, (in which there was the most to be gained; and the least to be hazarded,) was neglected.

Pope

Pope Innocent III, tho' he had many objections to the conduct of the crusaders, who had paid no regard to his strict prohibitions not to molest any christian prince, and especially the Greek emperor, was in reality well pleased with their success; and after some time thought proper to testify his approbation of it. In answer to a letter which the new emperor wrote to him on the occasion, he congratulated him on the event, expressing his ardent wish that the union of the two churches might be promoted by it. With this view he insisted largely in his letter to the bishops, on the chief articles of difference between them, viz. the procession of the holy spirit. If, he observed, this was from the Father only, and not from the Son also, he would not have the same affection for the Son as for the Father, which would be inconsistent with the perfect equality of the divine persons. He expressed his concern, however, to find that even the christians in Palestine left that country, and went to Constantinople, after making a truce of six years with the Mahometans.

The Latins being now in possession of Constantinople, a latin patriarch was chosen for that city, and the Greek patriarch retired to Thrace. But this was far from promoting any real union of the two churches. On the contrary, this conquest, and the behaviour of the conquerors, made the breach wider than before.

Aiomeri

Aimeri de Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, dying in A. D. 1205, and Isabella his widow, in whose right he had held the kingdom, dying A. D. 1210, her daughter Mary married John de Brienne, commonly called king of Acre, because that was his place of residence, and his dominions did not extend much farther.

Satisfied with the conquest of Constantinople, it was some time before the christians in the West thought it necessary to send any forces into the East; but they were excited to it by the zeal of a great number of boys and some girls, who in A. D. 1212 took the cross in France and Germany, but without any chief or plan of conduct. Many of them were confined by their parents, but others made their escape, and in pursuit of their object, wandering in the deserts, perished miserably. Some, however, passed the Alps, but the Lombards plundering them, they returned with shame to their respective homes.

The pope hearing of this, said, "Those children reproach us. They run to the succour of the holy land, while we are sleeping;" and in A. D. 1213 he published a bull for the convocation of a general council, to meet in two years for the reformation of abuses, and the succour of the holy land. The same year he published another bull, which respected the crusade only. In this he says,

“ We hope that the power of Mahomet will soon  
“ come to an end, since he is the beast in the Reve-  
“ lation, whose number is fix hundred and fixty fix  
“ years, and fix hundred years are now nearly expi-  
“ red, reckoning from the time of his appearance.”

As a farther motive to the expedition, he urged the critical situation of the christians in Palestine, and promised plenary indulgences to all who would undertake the expedition, with a discharge of all usury from Jews and others. He mentioned the forces that each of the princes, civil and ecclesiastical, should furnish, and promised to do in proportion himself. Farther, to unite them in this one object, he recalled the indulgences he had granted to those who served against the Saracens in Spain, or the heretics in Languedoc, except to the natives of those countries. He also excommunicated the pirates who obstructed the navigation of the Levant, and ordered processions every month, and prayers every day in the churches, to receive the alms that were designed for this object: In the last place, he wrote to Seiffeddin, the brother of Saladin, the sultan of Damascus and Babylon, to exhort him to give up the city of Jerusalem, and restore the captives on both sides, to prevent the further effusion of blood.

In consequence of this summons, the council met at the Lateran church in Rome in A. D. 1215,  
when

when orders were given for a new crusade, to take place in A. D. 1217, when all who should take the cross were directed to meet at Brindisi, or Messina, where he promised to attend in person. That there might be no obstruction to this expedition, peace was ordered to be kept through all christendom for four years. Notwithstanding all this, only the king of Hungary, and Leopold duke of Austria, tho' accompanied by several bishops and counts, and a multitude of common people, set out. At the same time, however, William count of Holland, and others from Germany, went by sea to Portugal, when they took Alazar from the Saracens, and spent the winter in Lisbon.

The arrival of the king of Hungary and the duke of Austria alarmed the Mahometan powers, but without any reason. For after a successful expedition as far as the river Jordan, and returning loaded with booty, they divided into four parties; and the king of Hungary having spent three months in Palestine, and thereby accomplished his vow, returned to his own country.

The first who arrived the following year were the Germans from Portugal, who went to Damietta in Egypt, and laid siege to it. But the army was much divided between the pope's legate, who claimed the command, and the king of Jerusalem, who joined them there. On the 29th of August A. D.

1219 they came to a battle with the Mahometans, and lost six thousand men, killed or taken prisoners. At length, however, they took the place on the 5th of November, after a siege of nine months. But after this they fell into great disorder, living in the most licentious manner, without regarding even excommunications. Many left the army, and many even went over to the enemy. The king of Jerusalem not agreeing with the legate, went to Acre, in A. D. 1220. The next year he returned, and at the earnest request of the legate, they marched towards Cairo; but being surrounded by the waters of the Nile, they were under the necessity of capitulating with the sultan on condition of giving up Damietta, which they did November 8, A. D. 1221, after they had held it a year and ten months. For this they got nothing but what was supposed to be the true cross, which Saladin had carried from Jerusalem, the christian captives, and a safe conduct to Acre; agreeing on a truce for eight months. But so much was the sultan irritated by this invasion of his territories, that, recovering the possession of Damietta, he demolished the christian churches, and greatly insulted and oppressed the christians in his dominions.

In A. D. 1223 the king of Jerusalem was in England, to get succours for the holy land, and thence he went to France; but he complained that  
he



he met with little encouragement, and the preachers of this crusade were even ridiculed in Germany and other places, the publishers being persons of no consideration ; and, as the emperor Henry observed to the pope, having but little power of granting indulgences. He, therefore, urged his holiness to remedy this inconvenience, and to remove every other obstacle to the expedition, on which he was much intent, having promised to marry the daughter of the king of Jerusalem.

In return, the pope sent cardinal Conrad as his legate into Germany in June A. D. 1224, with ample powers, and also preachers, for the purpose of publishing sufficient indulgences. In consequence of this great numbers of persons from all parts of Germany took the cross ; but it was not till August A. D. 1227 that Frederic arrived at Brindisi, where the army of the crusaders was assembled ; and there being a great mortality in it, and the emperor himself being ill, the expedition was put off for that year. Pope Gregory, however, thinking his illness to be a feint, excommunicated him for not having kept his word. The non arrival of the emperor was a great disappointment to those who were in Palestine, and more than forty thousand pilgrims, who were already there, returned in the vessels that had carried them.

The emperor paid no regard to the pope's excommunication, tho it was solemnly repeated, but had divine service performed in his presence, and he celebrated Easter as usual. In June A. D. 1228 he actually embarked, tho' expressly forbidden to proceed till he should be absolved from the censure which he had incurred, and he arrived safe in Palestine. During this absence of the emperor, and while he was engaged in a war which the pope pretended to have much at heart, he employed John de Brienne the late king of Jerusalem to oppose Rainald duke of Spoleto, the emperor's general in the south of Italy, and other commanders to attack his dominions in the north; and as Rainald employed many Saracens, the emperor's subjects in Sicily, who spared nothing belonging to the churches, much devastation was committed on both sides.

The emperor himself being arrived at Acre, September 7 A. D. 1220, was received as a person in a state of excommunication. However, by a treaty which he made with the sultan of Egypt, he procured the possession of Jerusalem for ten years, and he himself went thither to perform his devotions, notwithstanding the place was laid under an interdict on his account; and there being no bishop to give him the crown, he took it from the altar. So much were the Templars and Hospitallers

tallers his enemies, that when he designed to visit the river Jordan with a few attendants, they gave the sultan notice of it ; but he, detesting their perfidy, sent their letter to the emperor. This opposition to him both in Palestine and Italy hastened his return, and accordingly he left the country May 1st, A. D. 1229.

Being arrived in Italy, he soon recovered the places which the pope had taken from him. So far, however, was this prelate from being discouraged, that he proceeded farther to absolve the emperor's subjects from their oath of allegiance to him ; saying that " no person ought to keep faith with those " who opposed God and his saints, and who trampled upon his commandments." This was August 20. At length the emperor made his peace with the pope, swearing to submit to the orders of the church, without any condition, and on the 28th of that month he was absolved from his excommunication ; and on the first of September following they met, at the pope's invitation, at Anagni where they sat at the same table, and had a long conversation, in the presence of the master of the Teutonic order.

In A. D. 1234 Gregory IX published a new crusade, repeating the bull of pope Innocent III, and renewing his excommunication of those who furnished arms or ships to the infidels. The Do-

minicans and Franciscans were employed to preach it, and to collect money for it. But tho' great sums were thereby raised, the people seeing no good use made of it, their zeal in the cause, says Matthew Paris, was much cooled, and the business proceeded very slowly.

Many who had taken the cross being assembled at Lyons in A. D. 1229, the pope, perceiving the distressed situation of the Latin emperor of Constantinople, urged them to go to his assistance. Afterwards, however, he sent a nuncio to forbid them to proceed; and the emperor also desiring them to wait for him, they were thrown into great confusion, and dispersed in different directions, a few only going to Palestine. Richard, earl of Cornwall, arriving at Acre October 8, A. D. 1240, was received with great joy, the affairs of the christians being then in great disorder; the princes who had arrived before him having acted independently of one another, and some of them having been defeated. Advancing to Jaffa he made an advantageous truce with the Mahometans, they giving up several places which the christians were allowed to fortify. This treaty was signed at the end of November A. D. 1240.

In A. D. 1244 the christians of Palestine were threatened with a new enemy, one of the Tartar princes, driven from Karasim by Jenghis Khan; when

when the christians in Jerufalem, finding themselves too weak to defend the place, left it, in order to join their brethren in other places, to the number of more than six thousand. But a party of Saracens with whom they had made a truce falling upon them, killed some, and sold the rest for slaves. The Karasimians fell upon some who had escaped, so that scarce three hundred were left. The prince entering Jerufalem, found it almost deserted, and going into the church of the holy sepulchre, he cruelly butchered those who had taken refuge in it, and abused the place in a shocking manner. After this the christians joining their forces with those of two Mahometan princes attacked the Karasimians, the 10th of October A. D. 1244, but were defeated, so that of the military orders there remained only thirty three Templars, twenty six Hospitallers, and three Teutonic knights, the greater part having been killed or taken. So much of the country was seized, by these Karasimians, that only a few fortresses were left to the christians; and it was with much difficulty that they were able to defend them.

Notwithstanding this unpromising aspect of things, the greatest expectations of the pope and of all the christian world were raised by the pious king Lewis IX of France taking the cross; and tho' he did it when he was ill, and his life was despaired of,

he solemnly renewed his vows after his recovery ; and against the most pressing remonstrances of his mother and all his nobility, who thought his presence necessary at home, he persisted in his purpose. Accordingly on the 28th of June, A. D. 1248, he embarked, and landing at Cyprus on the 17th of September, was gladly received by Henry de Lusignan the king of that Island, to whom also the pope had given the kingdom of Jerusalem, vacant in his idea by his deposition of the emperor Frederick, and his son Conrad ; and who, with all his nobility, joined him in the expedition. On the 13th of May they sailed, and arrived at Damietta the 4th of June A. D. 1249, and the place being abandoned by the enemy, they took immediate possession of it. On the 20th of November they marched with a view to attack Cairo, but after some success, they suffered so much through illness and want of provisions, that they began to return. This, however, they were prevented from doing. For being completely surrounded by the enemy, the whole army was killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter was the king himself. He obtained his liberty by giving up Damietta, all his prisoners, and eight hundred thousand besants of silver. He also made a truce for ten years, but going to Acre, and the Mahometans not observing the terms of the treaty with respect to the prisoners,

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he continued there, fortifying several places, and redeeming captives at a great expence. At length, without attempting any thing farther he sailed for France the 24th of April A. D. 1254, and arrived there the 11th of July.

This unsuccessful expedition was only the beginning of misfortunes. The wars between the Pisans and the Genoese, (the former assisted by the Venetians,) was nearly fatal to the interest of the christians in Palestine, they fighting with one another on the very coast. The Templars, also and the Hospitallers quarrelled, and actually fought at Acre, and the former being defeated, hardly one of their knights remained. The greater part of the Hospitallers perished in the action.

But the greatest disaster, as it was then considered, was the loss of Constantinople. The Latin emperor Baldwin being reduced to a state of great weakness, and his troops being absent on an expedition, the Greek emperor Michael Paleologus ordered his son Alexis to march near the walls of Constantinople, and alarm the place. But he, perceiving the defenceless state of the city, took it by surprize in the night of the 25th of July A. D. 1261, after the Latins had held it fifty seven years. Baldwin himself made his escape.

They had farther losses in Palestine itself. For in A. D. 1264, the sultan of Egypt took Cæsarea.

The

The next year he took the castle of Afouf, and even prepared to besiege Acre, which was the principal place the crusaders then held ; and the year after this he took the castle of Saphet.

The hopes of the christian world were, however, revived by Lewis taking the cross a second time, which, after much pious preparation, he did with great solemnity, and on the 1st of July A. D. 1270 he set sail in Genoese vessels with a great number of his lords, and other persons of less note. Among them was the king of Navarre, his son-in-law, the count of Poitou, his brother the count of Flanders, and John the eldest son of the count of Bretagne. After suffering much by a storm, and rendezvousing at Cagliari in Sardinia, they proceeded to Tunis, in hopes that the king of it would declare for them, and become a christian, of which they had been led to form some expectation, or else to take the place. In both, however, they were disappointed ; and a violent disorder seizing the army, many died, and at length the king himself, on the 25th of August. He made his exit with all the piety of the age, being laid on a bed covered with cinders, and after giving excellent instructions to his son, but among them was a strict charge to extirpate heresy. Judging by the maxims of the times, and this prince's real disposition, no person appears to have better deserved the title of Saint, which he obtained,

Charles



Charles king of Sicily arrived at the place just before the king expired ; but all that could now be done, was to make a truce with the king of Tunis for ten years ; and they did it on the following advantageous terms. He was to pay the expences of the armament, to make Tunis a free port, to pay an annual tribute to the king of Sicily, to set at liberty all his christian captives, and to allow the free exercise of the christian religion, without exacting the usual tribute. After the treaty was signed, arrived Edward eldest son of the king of England, with his brother Edmond, and many of the English nobility. He was much dissatisfied with the treaty, but went with the army to Sicily, and there passed the winter ; but the new king of France returned to his own country.

Edward, having left Sicily in the spring of A. D. 1271, arrived at Acre the 9th of May, with a thousand chosen men, but he found the affairs of the christians in a very declining way. The sultan of Egypt had made great progress, having taken Jaffa by treachery during a truce, the castle of Beaufort, and the city of Antioch, where he put to death seventeen thousand persons, and carried away more than one hundred thousand into slavery, which so ruined the place that it never after recovered itself. On the 8th of April he took the castle of Acre which belonged to the Hospitallers.

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He then made a truce with the count of Tripoli, took Montfort, which belonged to the Germans, and having laid it in ruins, advanced to the siege of Acre. Here, however, his progress was stopped by the arrival of Edward, who after resting a month marched with seven thousand men, and took Nazareth, killing all that he found there. He made several other expeditions in the course of a year, and half that time he continued in Palestine, but without any considerable effect.

At this time Thibaud, arch deacon of Liege, was in Palestine, and being raised to the papal dignity while he was there, by the name of Gregory X, he made it his great object to promote the crusade, and he engaged the maritime powers of Pisa, Genoa, Marfeilles, and Venice, to assist in it, by sending immediate relief till he could procure more effectual assistance by means of a general council which he called to meet the 1st of May A. D. 1274.

In the mean time he gave the title of patriarch of Jerusalem to Thomas of Leontine in Sicily, a Dominican friar, who had been bishop of Bethany, that he might attend to the spiritual affairs of the crusade, which according to the representation of Gregory, who must have known it, was indeed deplorable. Writing to him on the occasion, he says, " You yourself know the enormous crimes " that are committed there, and that the wretched  
" slaves

“ slaves of voluptuoufnefs have drawn the anger of  
 “ God upon Antioch, and fo many other places,  
 “ which the enemy has destroyed. It is astonishing  
 “ that our brethren should be fo little affected by  
 “ fuch examples, that they continue in the fame  
 “ diforders without repentance, till they themselves  
 “ perifh.

This patriarch arrived at Acre with five hundred men, in the pay of the pope; but in the mean time Edward was very near lofing his life, by an affaffin fent by a Mahometan emir, who had often brought him letters, pretending a willingness to become a chriftian. At length, after waiting in vain for fuccours, either from the chriftian powers, or the Tartars who had promifed to join the chriftians, he made a truce with the fultan of Egypt for ten years, and left Acre the 22d, of September A. D. 1272, leaving the troops that were in his pay. Thus terminated another great effort to reftore the affairs of the chriftians in the Eaft.

The great object of the general council of Lyons, which met in A. D. 1275, was the relief of the holy land, and many orders were given refpecting it by Gregory X, who certainly had the caufe much at heart; but all the preparations for it terminated in nothing. The principal obftaculation arofe from the wars in which the chriftian powers in Europe were mutually engaged, and efpecially

pecially that between Peter of Aragon and the king of Sicily, whom the pope intended to crown; that he granted him part of the tenths of the ecclesiastical revenues destined for carrying on holy war.

After a considerable interval, an army was made to assist the christians in the East by Henry II king of Cyprus; who being in possession of what remained of the kingdom of Jerusalem, he sailed to Acre in A. D. 1286 with a fine army. His lieutenant whom Charles king of Sicily (and likewise claimed the kingdom) had left there obliged to depart, and Henry was crowned at Tyre August 15 the same year.

In A. D. 1288 the sultan of Egypt took Jaffa, and burned it; but Henry made a truce with him, and returned to Cyprus, leaving his brother Amuri to guard the city; and applying to the pope, he sent him twenty galleys with every thing necessary to serve for one year. But when he arrived at Acre, so many of the crew were sick, that only thirteen of them could be employed, and the city not being attacked, as was expected, they were of little use.

In the beginning of the year following 1289, Pope IV published a new bull to promote the crusades, with plenary indulgences as usual. At the same time he directed the patriarch to

tablish inquisitors in all the places subject to him, taking the assistance of the Dominicans. For the disorders occasioned by the war had given impunity to heretics and Jews in that part of the world.

After the loss of Antioch, Tripoli, and other places which the Christians held in Palestine, the city of Acre, to which they were now in a manner reduced, was much strengthened. The king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, the counts of Tyre and Tripoli, the Templars, Hospitallers, the pope's legate, and the troops kept by the kings of France and England, all resided there; and they were not long without finding occasion for action. Notwithstanding the truce which king Richard had made with the sultan of Egypt, about sixteen hundred men, who had been sent by the pope, pretending that they were not bound by it, plundered and killed those Mahometans, who on the faith of that treaty brought provisions and merchandise to Acre. They also made excursions to the neighbouring villages, and plundered and killed the inhabitants. The sultan Kelaoun Elafar, not being able to obtain any satisfaction for those outrages, advanced against the place with a great army in October A. D. 1290; and tho' he died on the march, his son Kalib began the siege on the 5th of April A. D. 1291, with an army of one hundred

and sixty thousand foot and sixty thousand horse, and on the 18th of the same month he took it by assault.

The king fled in the night, and three thousand with him, the patriarch was drowned by overloading the chaloup in which he was going to a ship, and the master of the temple, who had the command, died fighting. The Mahometans made a dreadful slaughter of most that they found in the place, and carried the rest captive, in number, it was said, sixty thousand. Immense wealth was found in the place, as every thing of value had been brought thither from other places, and it had long been the centre of all the commerce of the Levant. The enemy, having carried away every thing of value, set fire to the city, and totally demolished it.

This event was at that time considered as a just punishment for the wickedness of the inhabitants, who are said to have been the most corrupt of all Christians, especially with respect to impurity, both of men and women. The same day that Acre was taken the inhabitants of Tyre abandoned that place, and saved themselves by sea, and those of Barut surrendered without making any resistance. Thus the Latins lost all that they had hitherto kept of the country; the greater part of those who were saved retiring to Cyprus.

Such



## SEC. II. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. 179

Such was the termination of the war for the recovery of the holy land, after it had lasted near two hundred years.

Pope Nicolas, on receiving the afflicting news, made every possible effort to recover what had been lost; and for this purpose appointed a new crusade to take place two years after. In this he published bulls, in which he most pathetically lamented the sad disaster, and earnestly exhorted all Christians to repair the loss. With this view he wrote to all the princes from whom he had any expectations, and especially to the states of Venice and Genoa, whom he exhorted to make peace for this end. But in every country there was some particular obstruction that retarded the business, so that nothing was done; and the death of Nicolas the 4th of April A. D. 1292 put an end to every project of the kind.

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### SECTION II.

*Of the papal Power, and the Opposition that was made to it in this Period.*

IN no period of this history were the claims of the popes more exorbitant than in this, nor did they ever make a more intemperate use of their excommunications and interdicts; and yet in

none had they less effect, except when the temporal interest of the secular princes induced them to favour their pretensions.

The authority of the antient canons was in a great measure set aside in this period by the collection of *Roman decretals*, begun by Innocent III, who employed Petro Benevento his notary in the work, and who finished it in A. D. 1210. This was the first collection of *Jus Pontificium* made by authority. Additions were afterwards made to it; But Gregory XI ordered a new code to be made, leaving out all the old regulations that were not to his purpose, and adding many others of his own. In this work he employed Raimond de Pennafort a Dominican. This collection Gregory ordered to be alone made use of both in schools and in courts of justice. Accordingly the professors of law taught it, and wrote many commentaries upon it. Boniface VIII made a new collection in A. D. 1299, but this was not much regarded in France. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 49.

According to the now established maxims of the court of Rome, the popes were universal sovereigns, in temporals as well as spirituals. When Honorius III was applied to in A. D. 1222 for his permission to suffer the Greeks to live in subjection to their own bishop, he would not allow it; saying that "two bishops in one city was a  
"monster,



"monster, and that the Greeks should submit to be governed by the Latins." By this means the power of the pope would be paramount thro' all the Christian world. Gregory X., writing to the queen of Georgia, insisted largely on the necessity of acknowledging "one church under one head;" saying that, "to Peter only was given the care of his flock, and the keys of heaven, but that St. Peter and his successors had called his brethren, the other bishops, to partake with him in his cares;" as if all other bishops had derived their power from the pope, which, indeed, was the avowed opinion of some divines of this age.

Alexander Hales, a celebrated divine, who died in A. D. 1244, maintained in his writings that spiritual authority was superior to temporal in dignity, antiquity, and the benediction which was bestowed upon it; that the spiritual power instituted the temporal, and is the judge of it, and that the pope can be judged by God only. He farther advanced, that the powers of all inferior prelates are derived from him, he being the head, and they the members. Thomas Aquinas, who was unquestionably the greatest writer of the age, and whose authority was the highest, maintained that the pope can change whatever may be decreed in councils with respect to positive law, and according to occasions; that the fathers assembled in

council can do nothing without the pope, and that without him they have not even a power of assembling in council at all. These maxims, Fleury says, were new, and the last of them taken from the spurious decretals. Vol. 17. p. 560.

The popes were not backward to act on such maxims as these. Innocent III, when he called the general council at Lyons in A. D. 1245, in his letters to the bishops, only asked their advice, and did not consider them as judges along with him. When Otho, the pope's legate in England in A. D. 1237, held a council in London, the bishops desired to examine the decrees that he said he had to pass before he himself attended, that they might see whether they contained any thing to their prejudice; which shews that those legates not only brought draughts of decrees ready drawn up at Rome, but that it was not thought decent even to discuss them in their presence.

The popes paid as little regard to their own decrees as to any others, when it was convenient for them to have them reversed. When John XXI, being desirous to promote the crusade, sent his legate to make peace between the kings of France and Castile, he directed him to employ, if necessary, excommunications and interdicts, notwithstanding any privilege that particular persons or places might have not to be exposed to such censures; which

which shewed the insignificance of those privileges, tho' granted by the popes, since they violated them at their own pleasure.

What was ordered by one pope, even in a general council, was not always regarded by another. At the great council in Lyons in A. D. 1274, regulations were made about the meeting of the cardinals to chuse a pope, the object of which was to prevent any cabals, and accelerate elections, which had been much retarded before. But when Honorius IV was made pope in A. D. 1285, he observed in his circular letter, that he had been chosen without any uncertainty, the cardinals not having been shut up for the purpose; which he said had by a condemnable abuse been practised in vacancies of the church of Rome, so that the former constitution was at that time much disliked, and disregarded.

In this period, as in the preceding, the popes exercised the right of confirming titles of royalty. In A. D. 1204, Innocent III gave the dignity of *king* to Premislas, duke of Bohemia, on his taking the part of Otho against Philip of Suabia. Princes themselves were too ready to acknowledge this power in the popes, without considering that they were liable to suffer in consequence of it. Peter II king of Arragon voluntarily went to Rome to receive his crown from the hands of Innocent III,

promising that he and his kingdom would always be faithful to him, and engaging to pay every year two hundred and fifty pieces of gold. His people, however, were much displeased with his making their kingdom tributary, which before was free.

That the popes, having this immense power, should not hitherto have made any use of it to aggrandize their over families is rather extraordinary, considering how common it came to be afterwards. Nicolas III, who was made pope in A. D. 1277, is said to have been the first who did this.. In a short time he made his relations the richest of all the Romans, in lands, castles, and money.

There is always a point beyond which oppression will not be borne. In A. D. 1225 Honorius III made a demand of two prebends in all cathedral and conventual churches, both in France and England, on the pretence of removing the complaints that were then made of the avarice and exactions of the court of Rome; which he said were only occasioned by its poverty, which this grant would remedy. It did not, however, succeed in either of the countries.

The first and the steadiest opposers of the exorbitant demands of the popes were some of the clergy in the distant parts of christendom, where the princes were more independent of them. In this period two English prelates distinguished themselves

selves in this way, Sewald archbishop of York, and Robert Grossthe bishop of Lincoln. Sewald was excommunicated by Alexander IV, because he would not admit Italians of his arbitrary nomination to livings in his gift; but, as the historian says, the more maledictions were pronounced against him from without, the more benedictions he had from the people. On his death bed in A. D. 1258 he made a solemn appeal to Christ, against the unjust sentence of the pope, for not admitting unworthy persons, and who knew nothing of the English language, to the government of churches committed to his care, and he summoned his holiness to that higher tribunal. He even wrote strong letters of remonstrance to the pope himself on the subject; but the haughty prelate only expressed the greater contempt and indignation, as he did for Grossthe.

This prelate, a person of the greatest eminence for literature and piety of the age in which he lived, having received an order from the pope which he did not approve, refused to obey it; because it contained the clause *non obstante*, which, he said, would overturn all the bonds of human society, even the decrees of his predecessors, and give an example for violating his own. This, he said, was a manifest abuse of the papal power; that such orders ought not to be obeyed, tho' they came

from the angels, but ought to be resisted by force. Innocent IV was highly provoked at his conduct, but was advised to pass it over for fear of the consequences it might have ; and the more, says Matthew Paris, "as a revolt will some day come," as if he had foreseen that the yoke of popery would one day be thrown off.

When Grosthead was on his death bed in A. D. 1257, discoursing with some of his clergy of the destruction of souls by the avarice of the court of Rome, he said, "Jesus Christ came to save souls, and therefore he that destroys them deserves the name of Antichrist. Other popes," he said, "had afflicted the church, but this more than any of them, by means of the usurers he introduced into England, men," he said, "worse than Jews. He orders the friars to attend upon persons in dying circumstances, to persuade them to make bequests to the holy land, and thereby defraud their natural heirs. He sells crosses to laymen, as they formerly sold sheep and oxen in the temple, and he proportions his indulgences according to the money which is given for the crusade." After enumerating many other abuses, he said that, "in order to secure them he gives the kings a part of the revenues he draws from their dominions, and that the mendicant friars served him as legates in disguise."

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The incroachments of the court of Rome on the English in the reign of that weak prince Henry III were greater than the people could bear ; almost all the church livings being then given to Italians, whose only object was to raise all the money they could, so that no care was taken of the parishes, there was no hospitality, nothing given to the poor, no care of the ornaments of churches, or even provision for repairs. The popes, not content with the tax of Peter penny, levied contributions on the clergy without the king's consent, and by the use of the clause *non obstante* in their bulls, set aside all antient customs, contracts, statutes, privileges, and rights, of every kind.

In this state of things letters were sent in A. D. 1231 by unknown persons, to particular bishops and chapters, as from those who chose to die rather than be oppressed by the Romans, advising them to take no part in favour of them, or they should be treated in the same manner themselves, and have their property destroyed. Other letters were sent to those who received the rents of those foreigners, forbidding to pay them on the same penalty. And about Christmas in this year a more open conspiracy against all the Italians broke out. A number of men with their faces covered plundered the granaries of a church belonging to a rich Roman, and selling the greatest part

part of the corn at a moderate price, gave the rest to the poor. Some knights being sent by the earl to put a stop to these proceedings, they produced letters, as from the king, forbidding any persons to molest them, so that in a fortnight these unknown persons sold every thing, and retired with the money.

Roger bishop of London, hearing of this, excommunicated all who were concerned in the business; but notwithstanding this, the same violences were renewed at Easter, and were extended thro' all England, while the Romish clergy kept themselves concealed in monasteries, and durst not complain, chusing to lose their property rather than their lives.

It appeared afterwards that the authors of these violences were about eighty men, headed by Robert de Thing. The pope hearing of them wrote to the king to reproach him for not putting a stop to the disorder, and ordering him, under pain of excommunication and an interdict, to make diligent inquiry into it, and punish the authors of it. In another letter to the archbishop of York, and other bishops, he complained of a medal of St. Peter having been trampled upon, that one of his officers had been torn in pieces, and another left half dead. On this, inquiry being made, there were found among the guilty persons, or their accomplices, even bishops, the king's chaplains, arch—



archdeacons, and deans, besides a great number of knights and other laymen. Also the grand justiciary Hubert appeared to have been the person who had sent letters, as from the king, to forbid any violence to be offered to those who plundered the goods of the Italian clergy. Robert de Thinge came forward with twenty other persons, and declared to the king, that what he had done was out of hatred to the Romans, who had by a manifest fraud deprived him of the only benefice that he had, and that rather than lose it, he chose to live under excommunication for a time. The pope's commissaries advising him to go to Rome in order to get absolved, he went, and the king himself gave him letters of recommendation.

Nothing effectual being done for the relief of the kingdom, but, on the other hand, the exactions of the court of Rome continually increasing, the king called a parliament in A. D. 1246, in which the causes of complaint were considered, and an account of them taken under distinct heads, and sent to the pope. After enumerating their grievances, they said that, unless they were redressed, the consequence would be a rising of the people against the king, whose duty it was to protect them, even against the church of Rome. On this remonstrance some mitigation of the evils was obtained; but this was owing to nothing but the

impossibility of continuing them. Still the pope claimed the estates of those of the clergy who died intestate ; but the king had the spirit to forbid the payment, and also the levying of taxes on the clergy for the benefit of the pope. At this his holiness was much enraged ; and hearing that the weak king was giving way, he afterwards demanded one third of the incomes of those who resided on their livings, and one half of those who did not reside. However, both the clergy and the king opposed this daring imposition.

Scotland took warning by the example of England. Otho the pope's legate in the time of Henry III would have proceeded to that country, but Alexander then king of Scotland informed him, that there never had been any legate in Scotland in the time of his ancestors, and that he would not suffer it now ; and that if he insisted upon going thither he would not be answerable for his safety : for that it was not in his power to restrain his turbulent subjects. On this the legate refrained from proceeding any farther.

The same legate met with the same opposition in Germany. For when he proposed to hold a council at Virsburgh in A. D. 1231, Albert duke of Saxony wrote in the name of all the nobles to the prelates, remonstrating against the usurpations of the court of Rome, advising them to preserve the  
customs

customs of their ancestors, and to guard against the incroachments of strangers, especially as they were not only bishops, but princes. This had such an effect that the legate did not hold his council.

Even the pious Lewis IX of France laid some restraint on the papal exactions by his ordonnance called the *Pragmatic sanction* in A. D. 1268; when, intending to make a second expedition to the holy land, after providing for the freedom of elections to all church livings, both with respect to the pope and the lay lords, and guarding against simony, he says, "We will not that the pecuniary exactions, and heavy charges, which the court of Rome has imposed, or may impose, upon the churches of our kingdom, and by which it is miserably impoverished, be levied or collected."

These oppressions were severely felt by the lower orders of people, notwithstanding their general ignorance and servility. In A. D. 1251 there appeared a Hungarian of the name of Jacob, who collected a great number of the lower people, and armed them, on the pretence of delivering the holy land without the assistance of the nobility. In his progress he declaimed with great vehemence against the court of Rome and the clergy, and was received with joy by the common people. The queen of France at first favoured them, thinking they might be instrumental in delivering her son,  
then

then a prisoner ; but at length committing great disorders wherever they came, the country was armed against them ; in consequence of which their chief was killed, and his followers, who had been an hundred thousand, were dispersed.

The behaviour of the Latins in the East was far from recommending their religion. It was with much difficulty that the king of Armenia brought his people to submit to the see of Rome after the conquest of Constantinople, tho' they had not long before been reconciled to the Greek church. They wanted the assistance of the Latins, and their union continued no longer.

When the king of Hungary wrote in A. D. 1238 to Gregory IX, who had urged him to attack Asen king of Bulgaria for joining the Greek emperor against the Latins, he said he would reduce Bulgaria to depend upon himself with respect to temporals, and on the pope in spirituals, provided he might have the disposal of the church livings ; the principal reason for which he said was, that if he entered the country accompanied by the pope's legate, all the people would think that he was about to reduce them to subjection to the see of Rome, of which they had so great dread, that they would die rather than submit to it. For, says he, they often reproach us, and other Christians, with being slaves to the church of Rome.

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When Gregory IX was endeavouring to bring all the East into subjection to the Roman see, the Greek patriarch of Antioch, supported by the patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicated the pope and all the church of Rome; maintaining that his church was superior to that of Rome in antiquity and dignity. St. Peter, he said, first established his see at Antioch, and there he was received with due respect; but when he went to Rome he suffered every injury, and at length a violent death; that he therefore left the power of binding and loosing to the Greeks, rather than to the see of Rome, which is constantly defiled with simony, and all sorts of crimes.

The temporal power of the pope was always a galling circumstance to the people of Rome, and they made many attempts to emancipate themselves from it. In A. D. 1234 Gregory IX was driven from the city by the people, on the pretence that they had the privilege of not being excommunicated by any pope, or having their city laid under an interdict. To this he answered, that he was superior to all the faithful, even kings and emperors, and much more to those to whom he was the proper pastor. They had also differences with him of a civil nature, and despising his spiritual censures, they came to an open war with him; but a peace was made between them the year following.

Alexander IV was also driven out of Rome by the people, who disregarded his excommunication, denying his right to pass that sentence upon them. He retired to Viterbo in May A. D. 1257, and did not return till September the year following. This pope durst not live in Rome all the last four years of his life, and he died at Viterbo in A. D. 1261.

Such, however, was the advantage of which the popes were possessed, that at length they got the better of this, as well as all their other difficulties. In A. D. 1278 Nicolas III made a constitution, in which he claimed the sole sovereignty of the city of Rome from the grant of Constantine; ordering that for the future, no emperor, king, prince, or other lord, should have the government of Rome under the title of *senator*, *captain*, *patrician*, or any other, and that those civil offices should only be held one year. However the spirit of the citizens was not subdued. For on the accession of Martin IV in A. D. 1281 the people of Rome chose him for their civil governor, only for his life, and, as they said, not as pope, but on account of his personal qualities; and the pope accepted it on those terms.

## SECTION

SECTION III.

*Of the Transactions of the Popes with the Emperors of Germany in this Period.*

THE transactions of the popes with the emperors of Germany makes no small part of the ecclesiastical history of this period, and we clearly perceive in the course of them an increasing contempt of papal censures, and that nothing but the state of politics gave the popes any advantage in those contests.

After all the opposition that the popes had made to the pretensions of Philip of Suabia, legates being sent to him, and he writing a submissive letter, he was absolved from the excommunication he had so long lain under, and the peace of the empire was on the point of being settled, when this prince was murdered in A. D. 1208. On his death Otho was unanimously acknowledged emperor, and was crowned at Rome by Innocent III; but on his quarrelling with the people of Rome, and refusing to surrender to the pope the estates of the countess Matilda, he excommunicated him, and proceeded so far as to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. Otho, however,

made light of the pope's proceedings against him, tho' by his express order the excommunication had been repeated by the patriarch of Aquileia and Grada, the archbishops of Ravenna, and Genoa, and the suffragans of the church of Milan, that see being then vacant. He continued his conquests in Apulia and Calabria against Frederic, hoping to drive him out of Sicily; and the pope, alarmed at his success, sent six ambassadors in order to make peace with him, but the negotiation was without effect.

In the mean time the affairs of Frederic assumed a better aspect; and he going into Germany, where he had many partisans, Otho went thither too in A. D. 1212; but being defeated by the French in the battle of Bouvines, he was deserted by every body, Frederic was universally received as emperor, and the pope confirmed his election at the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, on his promising to leave the kingdom of Sicily to his son, dependent on the holy see. Otho died May 19th, A. D. 1218.

Frederic II, whose reign was a long one, was at variance with several popes in succession. With Honorius III he had a difference about the appointment of bishops in Apulia, and other places, and when the pope gave the sees to those whom he thought proper, the emperor would not suffer them



them to take possession. The same, at the same time, was the conduct of Ferdinand III king of Castile.

Gregory IX, having been offended with Frederic on various accounts, proceeded at length so far as to excommunicate him in A. D. 1239, and to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him, for not yielding to him the isle of Sardinia, which he pretended belonged to the holy see. Both the pope and the emperor published their several manifestos to the princes of Europe, in justification of their conduct. That of the emperor was very large, and concludes with his saying, that he knew of nothing that he had done to draw on him this persecution from the pope, but that he declined treating with him about the marriage of his niece to his natural son, king of some part of Sardinia, and desiring all the temporal princes to consider themselves as attacked thro' him. In answer to the particular complaints of the pope, which was a separate writing, he mentioned his having withdrawn from the Templars and Hospitallers some estates that had been given to them in Sicily, on condition of their selling them again to other citizens, lest they should, in process of time, get possession of all the lands in the kingdom; which is the first act of *Mortmain*, as they were afterwards called, that we read of.

In reply to the emperor, the pope published another letter, in which he makes him to be *the beast* in the Revelation which rose out of the sea. He said that the refusal of the marriage came from himself, and not from the emperor; and from his denying the power of a pope to excommunicate him, he said that, being guilty of this capital heresy, it might be concluded that he had no more belief in other articles of Christian faith. But he farther charged the emperor with having said, that the world had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, that none but madmen could believe that God, the creator of all things, could be born of a virgin, and that man could only be conceived by the union of the two sexes. This writing was published July 1st, A. D. 1239.

The emperor, in his reply, said that the pope was the *dragon* which had deceived the world, Antichrist, Balaam, and the prince of darkness. In answer to the charge of his calling Christ an impostor, he gives the articles of his faith with respect to the divinity of Christ, and the incarnation, and speaks of Moses and Christ as became a Christian. As to the pope's censures, he considered them as null, and to be revenged by the sword, if the cardinals did not bring him to reason, and put a stop to his violence. After this the emperor gave orders to send all the mendicant friars out of Sicily,  
to

to levy a tax upon all cathedral churches, and to confiscate the effects of all the foreign clergy. He also ordered the punishment of death to all persons who should bring letters from the pope, or pay any regard to them.

Even the German prelates, who were ordered by the pope to publish the excommunication of the emperor, and were threatened if they did not do it, paid no regard to the injunction, but intreated the pope to use more forbearance, and make peace with the emperor, and so put an end to the scandal. The patriarch of Aquileia even joined in communion with the emperor, and the Teutonic knights took his part. The pope, however, unmoved by all this, renewed his excommunication of the emperor, and of his son, who had taken possession of the March of Ancona, which the pope said belonged to him. At this time Elias, who had been general of the Franciscans (and had been a great advocate for a relaxation of the rules of the order, and after being deposed had been restored to his power and greatly abused it) being again deposed, joined the emperor, and exclaimed with great violence against the court of Rome, as full of usury, simony and avarice. The pope, he said, encroached upon the rights of the emperor, and thought of nothing but amassing mo-

ney, and by the most unjust means, and for this he was excommunicated.

The pope met with as little encouragement from France. Having made an offer of the imperial dignity to Robert the king's brother, Lewis, with the advice of his lords, replied, that the pope had no right to depose so great a prince, not convicted of any crime; that if he was deposed, it should be by a general council, and that his enemies, among whom the pope was the chief, ought not to be heard against him. He is innocent, said the king, with respect to me, and has always been a good neighbour. I will not make war upon him, especially as he will be supported by so many kingdoms, and the justice of his cause. If, said the king, the pope should by our means subdue Frederic, he will be more insolent, and trample upon all princes. He promised, however, to send ambassadors to the emperor, to make inquiry concerning his faith; saying, if that be orthodox, why should I attack him, tho' if he be in an error, I shall pursue him to extremity, as I would any other person, even the pope himself.

The pope also without any effect solicited the princes of the empire to make another election of an emperor. He succeeded, tho' with much difficulty, in obtaining from Henry III of England a fifth of the incomes of the church livings in that  
king-

### SEC. III. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. 201

kingdom, for the purpose of carrying on the war against Frederic.

In Italy the cardinal John de Colonna, the pope's legate in the March of Ancona, joined the emperor, who, as well as his son, made great progress in his war against the pope in A. D. 1241. The pope having called a general council to be held at Rome, for the purpose of proceeding against the emperor, this prince threatened all who should attend it; and many prelates who had embarked at Genoa, being met by the emperor's galleys from Naples, were taken, treated with much indignity, and carried first to Naples, and then to Salerno. Among them were the abbots of Clugni, Citeaux, and Clairvaux, and the bishop of Palestine, who was particularly obnoxious to the emperor. At the intercession of the king of France the prelates of that kingdom were set at liberty. After this advantage the emperor approached near to Rome, obliging the churches and monasteries to advance him large sums of money; and tho' at that time the Tartars having conquered Russia and Hungary, making the most dreadful devastations, and were threatening Germany, he did not leave the war in Italy, when the pope died the 20th of August, A. D. 1241.

On the accession of pope Innocent IV, which did not take place till after a long vacancy, some

attempts were made to procure a peace, but they did not succeed; and from this time the affairs of the emperor went backwards. However, in A. D. 1243, commissaries being appointed on both sides, matters were accommodated between them, the emperor restoring all the places he had taken from the pope, and declaring that it was not from contempt that he had not obeyed the sentence pronounced by pope Gregory, but because it had not been announced to him; and with respect to this he acknowledged that he had been blameworthy, and promised to expiate his offence by alms, fasting, and other pious works. He engaged also to repair all the wrongs that had been done to the prelates who had been his prisoners, and for the future to obey the pope in every thing, without prejudice to the rights of the empire.

It is remarkable that, as with respect to the similar case of preceding emperors, nothing was said of Frederic being restored to the possession of the empire, tho' he had been formally deposed, as well as excommunicated. He had always been considered as emperor by all the princes of Europe.

Frederic, however, soon repented of his concessions, and let the pope know that he would not execute what he had promised, till he had received absolution, which the pope thinking to be unreasonable, the treaty was broken off, and the emperor

peror's lieutenant endeavoured to get possession of the pope's person. He, being aware of the design, mounted a swift horse, and from Citta de Castella, whither he had gone on his way to meet the emperor, he rode thirty-four miles on his way to Rome, unknown to any but his own servants. On the 29th of June he went on board a ship at Civita Vecchia, and with some difficulty arrived at Genoa the 5th of July. In this new emergency the pope again applied for pecuniary assistance to the king of England. But the emperor writing to him in his own vindication, said that, if he would be advised by him, he would relieve him from the tribute with which Innocent III had loaded the nation, and all the other vexations of the court of Rome; and if he would not, he would take his revenge on all his subjects whom he should find in his dominions; and it is probable that the king was influenced by this advice.

The pope dreading the power of the emperor, with whom he was now at open war, solicited to be received in France, in Arragon, and in England, but was refused in them all. The advisers of Henry III said on this occasion, "We have had already too much of usury and simony from the Romans, without the pope coming hither himself to plunder the goods of the church, and of the kingdom."

Inno.

Innocent, however, was not discouraged, but renewed his excommunication of the emperor, and required all other ecclesiastics to do the same. On this occasion a curé in Paris distinguished himself by saying before the ceremony, "I am ordered to excommunicate the emperor Frederic, but I know not the reason of it, only that he and the pope are at variance. I do not know which of them is in the right; but, as far as I have power, I excommunicate him of the two who has done the wrong, and absolve him who suffers it." The emperor, hearing of this, sent the curé a present; but the pope, whose conduct was evidently reflected upon, punished him for the liberty he had taken.

A general council being held at Lyons, Thaddée de Suisse, a knight and doctor of laws, the emperor's ambassador, boldly defended his conduct; but perceiving the disposition of that assembly, the emperor did not chuse to attend himself. Here a sentence of deposition was pronounced against him, but it was observed that the pope made this his own act, pronouncing it as in the presence of the council, and not as with its concurrence, as in all the other decrees of the same council.

The emperor was much disturbed when he heard this sentence, but placing the crown on his head,



head, he said, " I have not lost it yet, and will " not part with it without bloodshed." In his letter to the princes on this occasion, he told them as before, that his cause was the same with their own, he complained of the ambition of the court of Rome, and the vices which prevailed in it, some of which he said it was not decent to mention ; that it was the immense wealth of that court which was the cause of all the mischief, and therefore he was determined to reduce it, and bring the popes to the condition of the primitive bishops, who imitated the humility of our Saviour ; whereas these, immersed in the affairs of the world, and swimming in pleasure, despised God ; that the excess of their riches stifled in them all sense of religion, and that it would be meritorious to deprive them of their pernicious wealth ; and he exhorted them to join him in doing it.

To this bold proposal the princes of that age were not prepared to accede, and the letter gave offence ; a great degree of wealth being then generally thought necessary to support the character of the clergy. But another letter, which the emperor wrote to the king of France, to shew the violation of all the forms of regular judicature in his condemnation, and the danger that would arise to other princes from the power which the popes assumed to depose them, gained him many friends.

The pope, however, did every thing in his power to raise up enemies to the emperor. At his persuasion some of the electors made Henry landgrave of Thuringia king of the Romans, on the 17th of May A. D. 1246. He even wrote to the sultan of Egypt, to persuade him to break the treaty which his father had made with the emperor. But the Mahometan prince with great indignation replied, "Your envoy speaks to us of Jesus Christ, whom we know better, and honour more than you do; and my father, having made a treaty with the emperor, I think myself bound by it."

Henry being defeated by Conrad the son of Frederick, and dying of vexation in lent A. D. 1247, William brother of the count of Holland was chosen king of the Romans in his place. But Frederick, not dismayed by these measures, published an ordonance in A. D. 1248, by which all priests refusing to perform divine service, or administer the sacraments, were banished from their place of abode, and deprived of all their goods. On the other hand the pope published fresh bulls of excommunication, and ordered a crusade to be preached against the emperor and his son, with the same indulgences as to those who went to the holy land.

In this state of things the people were much divided, some taking part with the pope, and some with the emperor. At Ratibon the people rose  
against

against the bishop who obeyed the pope, and who had excommunicated them, and laid the city under an interdict, and they continued to bury in the church-yard as before. They even took out of the grave the body of a countess who had submitted to the pope, and, after dragging it about the streets, threw it to the dogs. They also made it death to any person to take the cross against the emperor.

On the other hand, the pope ordered the bishops to add to the sentence of excommunication of the partisans of the emperor, the deprivation of all fiefs held of the church, and all church benefices to the fourth generation, with other punishments, which the historian says he had no power to execute. In Suabia some persons preached openly against the pope, the clergy, and the monks; saying that the pope was a heretic, and the bishops simoniacs, without the power of binding and loosing; that they had deceived the world too long, that no bishop had power to forbid the celebration of divine service, that the Dominicans and Franciscans perverted the church by their preaching, and lived bad lives, as well as the Cistercians, and other monks.

Had the emperor continued successful in the field, he might have humbled the pope; but being defeated before Parma, which he had besieged, his authority was much diminished. He also suf-

ferred in the opinion of many by his harsh treatment of the bishop of Arezzo, who was taken in arms against him. But the clergy who took part with the pope, also hurt his cause, says Mathew Paris, by their avarice, their simony, usury, and other vices.

In the mean time William, being assisted with money from the pope, and his cause being zealously espoused by the preaching friars, besieged and took Aix la Chapelle, and was there crowned in A. D. 1248. Frederick being seized with sickness, offered honorable terms of peace to the pope; but the haughty prelate would not listen to them, which offended many, and disposed them to favour Frederick. At length the death of this emperor is A. D. 1250 put an end to this long contest.

On this event his son Conrad, tho' opposed by the pope, gained strength, while William was obliged to retire into Holland, and live at the expence of his brother, whom he had made count of it. In this state of things the title of *king of the Romans* was offered to several persons, all of whom refused to accept of it. Among them was Haquin king of Norway, who, in answer, said publickly, that he was ready to fight the enemies of the church, but not those of the pope. This, says Matthew Paris, I myself heard him declare, with a great oath.

In

In consequence of the advantages which Conrad gained over the pope and his partisans in Italy, the pope published a crusade against him, with greater indulgences than to those who went to Palestine; for they extended to the fathers and mothers of the crusaders. This gave great offence, especially as at this time the king of France was in Palestine, demanding succours. The queen repented it so much, that she ordered the lands of all these new crusaders to be seized, so that the expedition came to nothing.

But the cause of the pope was now, as on many other occasions, wonderfully favoured by events. Conrad dying in A. D. 1254, and leaving a son, generally called Conradin, only two years old, under the care of Mainfroi, regent of the kingdom, who submitted to the pope, and was received into favour. But the legate, whom on this occasion the pope sent into Sicily, behaved in such a manner, as lost him many friends, and Mainfroi taking advantage of it, left the pope, and gained a victory over his troops; and in this situation of things Innocent IV died December 4th, A. D. 1254.

The first care of his successor, Alexander IV, was to stop the progress of Mainfroi; and with a view to this, he gave the kingdom of Sicily to Edmund, the second son of the king of England, and released him from his vow to go to the holy land,

on condition of his marching against Mainfroi in Apulia; and a crusade was preached against him in England, with the same indulgence as for Palestine, which shocked the people very much; the same pardon being given for shedding the blood of Christians as for that of infidels. And Mainfroi in A. D. 1206 having made himself master of almost the whole of Apulia and Sicily, was crowned king at Palermo the 11th of August A. D. 1258; and tho' the pope excommunicated him in A. D. 1259, he was joined by the people of Lombardy. Continuing to make great progress in Italy in A. D. 1263, the pope not only repeated his excommunication, but laid the kingdom of Sicily under an interdict. No regard, however, being paid to it, he thought proper to moderate his censures.

Events, however, as before, wonderfully favoured the popes. Clement IV having given the kingdom of Sicily to Charles count of Anjou and Provence, Mainfroi was killed in a battle he fought with him the 26th of February A. D. 1266, and in consequence of this victory the greatest part of Italy reverted to the obedience of the pope. Also Conradin, the grandson of Frederic, who had been received as emperor in Italy, and even at Rome, tho' in a state of excommunication by the pope, coming to a battle with Charles, was defeated August 6th, A. D. 1268, and, being afterwards taken, was beheaded. It

#### SEC. IV. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. 21

It was in this period that the two parties distinguished by the names of *Guelphs* and *Gibellines* became famous in Italy, the former taking the part of the popes, and the latter that of the emperors. The distinction began in Germany in A. D. 1139, the Gibellines being so called from Gibel, a city in which Henry the son of Conrad III was born, and the Guelphs from Guelf duke of Bavaria. *Giannone*, Vol. 1. p. 669.

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#### SECTION IV.

*Transactions of the Popes with Peter King of Arragon, and John King of England.*

THE transactions of the popes with Peter of Arragon were the sequel of those with the emperor and Mainfroi; Peter having in right of his wife the daughter of Mainfroi invaded Sicily when in possession of Charles of Anjou, whom the popes favoured. Martin IV in A. D. 1283 published a crusade against him, on pretence that the war with Charles hindered the relief of the holy land, and also that his attacking Sicily was an invasion of the property of the church, since Sicily belonged to the holy see. However, these cen-

sures against the king of Arragon, and the countries subject to him, which were laid under an interdict, produced no effect. They were despised not only by the king himself, his lords, and other laymen, but even by the bishops, and the monks of all orders. His partisans did not consider themselves as really excommunicated, and paid no regard to the interdict; appealing from the sentence of Martin to that of a future pope. In contempt of the king not being allowed the title of king of Arragon, he called himself "knight of Arragon, "father of two kings, and master of the sea."

Philip the Hardy, king of France, having received from the pope the title of *king of Arragon*, took the cross against him. For the pope, not content with his censures, had published a crusade against Peter; and he set out on the expedition the 25th of June A. D. 1285. But the crusaders of whom his army was chiefly composed committed as much disorder as the other troops: They profaned churches by the effusion of blood, and committed other impurities in them. They even violated nuns, and carried away sacred vessels, crosses, images, books, and ornaments, and sold them. They took down the bells, and either broke them, or carried them away. Thus they conducted themselves during the whole campaign, pretending to the promised indulgence. Some, who had not



not even an arrow, took up stones, and throwing them said, either in jest or earnest, "I throw this stone against Peter of Arragon, in order to gain the indulgence." At length his army was seized with a disorder which obliged them to retreat, and the king himself died of it.

Peter of Arragon died the year following, and in the article of death was reconciled to the church. But he left the kingdom of Sicily to his son James, who treading in his father's steps, was excommunicated, and an interdict was laid on every place where he should come. Two bishops, who had crowned him, were ordered by the pope to appear before him, but neither the king nor the bishops paid any regard to the excommunication, tho' it was repeated presently after.

On the death of Alfonso king of Arragon in A. D. 1291, pope Nicolas IV forbade his brother James meddling with the government of Arragon, or any of its dependencies, and ordered him to resign Sicily to king Charles, or he would proceed against him both temporally and spiritually. He also wrote to the bishops, abbots, and all the clergy of Arragon, forbidding them, under severe penalties, to acknowledge James as king. But these prohibitions and menaces had no effect. For as soon as James heard of the death of his brother, he left Sicily under the government of another brother,

and landing at Barcelona, went to Saragossa, where he was solemnly crowned king of Arragon the 24th of September A. D. 1291.

The orders of the pope were as little regarded in Castile as in Arragon, when they were thought to be unreasonable. Pope Martin ordered Sanches king of Castile to quit his wife, as being in the third degree of relationship to him, threatening him with excommunication, and other punishments, temporal and spiritual in A. D. 1263; but no regard was paid to them. The king kept his wife, and had many children by her, and among them Ferdinand, who succeeded him.

In order to give an account of the transactions of the court of Rome with king John of England, I must go back to the time of Innocent III, who had an advantage in the greater ignorance and superstition of the English nation, which he had not in the more southern parts of Europe; but notwithstanding this, such was the spirit and obstinacy of this prince, that nothing but the dread of an invasion of his kingdom brought him to submit.

The pope having in A. D. 1207 nominated Stephen Langton to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, against the will of the king, who proposed the bishop of Norwich, the pope threatened him with excommunication, and an interdict on his kingdom,

dom, if he did not consent to it. But the king, being in a great rage swore, as his custom was, by the teeth of God, that if the pope should lay an interdict on his lands, he would send him all the prelates in England, confiscate their effects, and put out the eyes of all the Romans among them, that they might be distinguished from all other men; and he ordered three bishops, viz. of London, Eli, and Worcester, who brought him the pope's orders, to be gone from his presence, if they would retire with safety. They accordingly withdrew; and presently after, in obedience to the orders they had received from the pope, actually laid an interdict on the whole kingdom; and notwithstanding the king's orders to the contrary, it was so strictly observed, that no religious service was performed, besides confession, the viaticum, and the baptism of infants. As to the dead, the historians say they were buried like dogs, in the high ways. The three bishops having done this, privately left the kingdom.

In these circumstances, there being no fresh consecration of oil on the next holy thursday, so that there was none for the baptism of infants, the pope gave orders that the old might be used, or that fresh oil might be consecrated for the purpose; and as there were no consecrated waters with which to give the viaticum to the dying, he said their faith

must supply that deficiency, since Austin had said, that if they believed that they partook of it, they virtually did so.

Tho' this interdict had continued two years, the king was so far from making any concessions, that he violently persecuted the clergy; and this fresh provocation led the pope, on the 12th of January A. D. 1209, to give the three bishops a commission to excommunicate him, which accordingly they did. A theologian of the name of Masson encouraged the king in his resistance, teaching that the pope had not received from St. Peter any authority in things of a temporal nature, and in consequence of this obtained several church livings. But the pope being informed of the maxims that he taught, deprived him of them; so that, as the historian says, he begged his bread from door to door.

In A. D. 1211 the pope sent his legate Pandolf, and others, to persuade the king to give satisfaction to the church; but he not agreeing to the pope's terms, his subjects and vassals were declared to be absolved from their oath of allegiance to him; all persons were forbidden under pain of excommunication to have any intercourse with him, even at table, or so much as speak to him. But some of the bishops encouraging the king, he persevered in his obstinacy.

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On this the pope wrote to the king of France, exhorting him, for the remission of his sins, to undertake the dethroning of John, and seizing his kingdom. He also addressed a letter to the lords, and knights of other nations, urging them to take the cross for the invasion of England; promising that they who engaged in this expedition should receive the same protection from the holy see as if they had gone to the holy land. In consequence of this, the king of France, having long wished for such an excuse, actually declared war against John; and at this time it was that, to recommend himself still more to the pope, he took back his wife Ingelburga, from whom, notwithstanding the repeated orders of the pope to the contrary, he had been separated sixteen years.

This conduct of the king of France gave John so much alarm, that he was persuaded at length to submit to the pope, as the only way to preserve his kingdom. Accordingly he signified his intention to do so on the 13th of May A. D. 1203, and on the 15th of the same month he even made a formal surrender of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, holding them from that time as a vassal of the pope; and besides Peter's pence, he promised to pay to the pope every year a thousand marks of silver, and to oblige all his successors to do the same, on pain of forfeiting his crown. In

the presence of the legate Pandolf, he laid aside his crown, and took the oath of fealty, receiving it again from his hands. A piece of money being delivered as a pledge of the fealty, the haughty prelate trampled upon it.

From England the legate went to France, and ordered the king to desist from his invasion of the dominions of king John, now a vassal of the pope; at which, having been at a great expence in his preparations, he was much enraged; and so far was he from rejoicing at the conversion of his brother, as a Christian king ought to have done, that he would have proceeded, but that his vassal the count of Flanders abandoned him. The exiled bishops then returned, and having all their property restored to them, they took off the king's excommunication; and the interdict on the kingdom was taken off the 25th of June A. D. 1214, after it had continued six years and three months.

So far was it from being thought that the king acted from a principle of conscience in this business, that, according to Matthew Paris, he made an offer of the subjection of his kingdom to the Mahometan king of Morocco, promising to renounce Christianity, in order to obtain his assistance, but that the musselman treated the offer with contempt. As a farther evidence that he was no believer in Christianity, it is said that, seeing a flag which

which he had taken in hunting to be very fat, he observed, that he had thriven very well, tho' he had never gone to mafs. The pope, however, on the idea of his being a true penitent, and faithful fon of the church, wrote to him ; faying that what he had done was without doubt from the fpirit of God, and that he now poffeffed his kingdom in a more fublime and folid manner than ever ; fince it was become, in the language of fcripture, a facerdotal kingdom.

After this the king having been compelled to grant his lay barons a charter of liberties, and repenting of what he had done, the pope not only abfolved him from his oath, but forbade his obfervance of it on pain of excommunication. He alfo ordered the barons to renounce their claims ; and as they paid no regard to this, he excommunicated them. But as this excommunication was only general, they made no account of it. At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, this excommunication of the refractory Englifh barons was repeated, and now fome of them were mentioned by name. An interdict was, moreover laid on their lands, and alfo on the city of London ; but the citizens defpifed it, and maintained that the barons ought not to regard it, nor the clergy to publifh it, fince the pope has nothing to do with temporal affairs, but that the cowardly Romans wifhed

wished to rule the world by their excommunications.

The barons continuing their opposition made an offer of the kingdom to Lewis the son of the king of France, but the pope forbid him to accept of it, as it belonged to the holy see. In answer to this, the king of France and his lords said that no king had a right to dispose of his kingdom without the consent of his lords; and Lewis notwithstanding the remonstrance of the pope's legate, who excommunicated him and all his adherents, and especially Simon de Langton, brother of the archbishop of Canterbury, went to England; and the war was carried on with various success. After the death of John in A. D. 1216, and the accession of Henry III, the affairs of Lewis declined, and the legate joining the army of the young king, excommunicated Lewis, and published a plenary indulgence to those who fought against him. Being, after this, defeated by the army of Henry, he left the kingdom in May A. D. 1217.



SECTION V.

*Of the State of the Clergy in this Period.*

**T**HE spirit of the clergy continued as high in this period as in the preceding, tho' the spirit of the laity rose in opposition to them, and tho' many of their usurpations had been of so long continuance, that they were not disputed.

It appears from what passed at the council of Milan, in A. D. 1225, that the king of France allowed the jurisdiction of the clergy to extend to all cases respecting oaths, fealty, and homage, wills, and marriages. The bishops had also claimed the cognisance of all causes in which the vassals of the church were concerned against any person whatever.

In A. D. 1232 Maurice archbishop of Rouen being cited to appear before the king, refused, saying, that after God he had no other judge than the pope, both in things temporal and things spiritual. On this the king ordered all the domains of the church to be seized; but the archbishop laid all the estates of the king in his diocese under an interdict; and on his complaining to the pope, the king was obliged to restore what he had taken, after the interdict had continued thirteen months.

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In the same year the king going with an armed force, in order to put a stop to a sedition in the city of Beauvais, which had arisen from a quarrel between the mayor and the common people, and in which many lives had been lost, the bishop opposed him, saying, that himself was the only person who had any jurisdiction in that place. The king taking possession of the city, and putting a garrison into it, the bishop appealed to a council held at Noyon, and on inquiry being made into the state of the facts, the king was summoned to make restitution; and not complying, the archbishop laid all his diocese under an interdict, and the other bishops extended it to the whole province. An appeal was then made to Rome, but the archbishop dying soon after peace was made with his successor.

In A. D. 1237 many of the lords of France wrote to the pope, to complain of the clergy refusing to obey any summons to the king's courts in things of a temporal nature, tho' they held their baronies of him, and in time past had always been accustomed to do it. King Lewis interposed his authority in favour of the laity, making an ordinance to authorize his vassals and lords not to appear in the ecclesiastical courts, for matters of a temporal nature; and if they were to be excommunicated for their contumacy, the ecclesiastical judge

judge should be obliged to take off the excommunication, by seizing his temporalities, and that the clergy and their vassals should submit to the judgment of the king's courts in all civil causes. Gregory IX remonstrated against this ordinance of the king; saying, that God had given the pope the rights of both ecclesiastical and terrestrial empire, that the king and the lords would reduce the church to a state of servitude, but that they ought to fear the excommunication of pope Honorius, against all those who should make ordinances against the liberties of the church. However, the king would not revoke his ordinance, and continued to be attentive to repress the incroachments of the clergy.

Nothing perhaps exceeded the high tone in which pope Honorius resented some insults offered to his legate by the scholars of the university of Paris in A. D. 1225. He published a constitution inflicting the heaviest penalties on any person who should offer his legates any kind of violence. He should, he said, be considered as infamous, as if guilty of high treason, be treated as a public enemy, be incapable of making a will, or receiving any inheritance, his house should be pulled down, and his estates confiscated, with many other penalties. If the prince or magistrate did not execute this order, he was to be excommunicated, and if the

the people did not oppose him, the country was to be laid under an interdict.

There appeared in this period to be little wisdom in these violent church censures, the laity in general having, in many places at least, begun to consider the natural equity of them, and if they thought them unjust, to pay no regard to them; so that it was thought necessary to add civil to ecclesiastical punishments. It appeared particularly at the council of Narbonne in A. D. 1227, when it was ordered that as the laity of that province despised excommunication, every excommunicated person should be fined nine livres and one denier, and that if he remained in a state of excommunication a whole year, his goods should be confiscated.

In A. D. 1253 clergy of France applied to Lewis IX for his order to confiscate the effects of those who refused to be absolved after being excommunicated a year and a day; since, as they said, no regard was paid to their excommunications, and persons even chose to die in that state. The king replied, that he would willingly grant it with respect to those who were justly excommunicated; but the bishops replying that they were the only judges of that, he refused, mentioning the case of the count of Britany; who after having been seven years excommunicated by the bishop of his province, was just as the pope himself to have been treated

treated unjustly, and absolved. About the same time it was agreed at the council of Bourdeaux, that if any person in a state of excommunication did not get absolved within a year and a day, he should be considered as a heretic, and subjected to temporal punishment as such.

In A. D. 1247 there had been a more serious alarm given to the clergy of France, by a general conspiracy of the barons of that kingdom against them, expressing their determination not to submit to their jurisdiction, except in cases of heresy, marriage, and usury. They took an oath to stand by one another, appointed the duke of Burgundy, and three others, to act for them, and taxed themselves for the support of the common cause. Pope Innocent IV was much disturbed when he heard of this; but advised the clergy to oppose the measures of the barons with all their power. Perceiving, however, that church censures had no effect, he gained many of the principal of the barons by giving church livings to their relations, and granting them other favours, and by this means warded off the blow for that time.

If it had not been for the spirit that now began to be roused by the incroachments and exactions of the clergy, it is not to say where they would have ended. At the council of Lyons in A. D. 1245, the English ambassador complained that the

Italian clergy, who were non resident, drew from the kingdom more than sixty thousand marks of silver annually, which was more than the king's revenue.

In the East the clergy never had the power, or the immense revenues, of those in the West; but while Constantinople was possessed by the Latins, some steps were taken towards bringing them into the same situation. It had not been the custom in the East to pay tythes; but it was decreed at the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, that they should be levied in all parts of the Christian world before any other tax, as a mark of the universal dominion of God. The provision for the bishops in that part of the world not being thought to be sufficient, the pope was requested to reduce their number; but he chose rather to give two of them to one person, that in future time it might be more easy, if it should be convenient, to separate them again. This, says Fleury, was the origin of the personal union of church livings during the life of the incumbent, which was much abused afterwards.

The disorderly lives of many of the clergy, the natural consequence of their wealth and power, no less than their exactions and usurpations, contributed to make them odious, and make their censures little regarded. It appears from the council  
of

of Virsburg in A. D. 1286, that the clergy of Germany were in general very disorderly. Some of them were not sufficiently modest in their dress, they frequented taverns, played at dice, visited the nuns, chatted and played with them in their own rooms, exercised themselves at tournaments, kept concubines, got possession of livings by fraudulent entry, or violence, and some said mass every day merely for hire. Some of the prelates alienated the goods of the church on the pretence of debts. In the wars, which were then frequent in that country, they who took possession of the churches made fortresses of them, which gave occasion to the enemy who took them to destroy or burn them. Bishops so neglected visitations, that some persons were not confirmed at the age of sixty.

But the most extraordinary character of a clergyman that occurs in the course of this period, is that of Henry bishop of Liege, brother of Otho count of Guelderland, and cousin of William count of Holland. He had been promoted to that bishoprick by Innocent IV, who wished to support that count in his pretensions to the empire. Gregory X, who had been archdeacon of Liege in the time of this Henry, on being made pope, wrote him a letter of expostulation, from which we have the following particulars. "We learn," he says, "with grief, that you are addicted to simony and

“ intontinence, so that you have had many child-  
“ ren both before and after your promotion to the  
“ bishoprick. You have taken an abbess of the  
“ order of St. Benedict for your public concubine,  
“ and at a public entertainment boasted before the  
“ company that in twenty-two months you had  
“ fourteen children, to some of whom you have  
“ given or procured benefices with care of souls  
“ before they were of age, and you have given to  
“ others of your children the goods of your bishop-  
“ rick, and thus married them advantageously. In  
“ one of your houses called the Park, you have  
“ long kept a nun, together with other women.  
“ A nunnery in your diocese having lost their ab-  
“ bess, you have annulled a canonical election,  
“ and put in a daughter of a count, to whose son  
“ you had married one of your daughters; and  
“ they say that this abbess is delivered of a child  
“ which she had by you. You are so negligent in  
“ the exercise of your temporal power, that you  
“ exempt from punishment thieves, murderers,  
“ and other malefactors, provided they give you  
“ money. You never recite the liturgy, or even  
“ hear it, being wholly illiterate; and you often  
“ appear in a secular habit, with scarlet, so that  
“ you are more like a knight than a prelate.” Af-  
“ ter this remonstrance the pope exhorted him to re-  
“ pent, and not to trust to his youth, which promised

him



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him a long life. This friendly letter, however, produced no effect, and at the council of Lyons in A. D. 1274 he was deposed, and lived twelve years after it.

So many of the clergy in this period rendering themselves odious by their profligacy and rapacity, we cannot wonder that in some of the less civilized parts of Europe, they were exposed to great violence. They suffered much in Denmark, as appears from the acts of a council confirmed by Alexander IV in A. D. 1257, where it was ordered that, if any bishop should be seized, deprived of any limb, or any other injury be done to him in the kingdom of Denmark, by the order or with the consent of the king, the country should be laid under an interdict. In the remote parts of Germany the persons of the clergy were no more spared than their goods; no respect was paid to the envoys of the bishops, or the legates of the church of Rome. They were often arrested, beaten, and stripped, and the letters they carried torn.

In this, as also in a former period, the clergy were sometimes guilty of great violence to one another. In A. D. 1222 the bishop of Caithness in Scotland having a difference with his clergy about tithes, and other rights of his church, they murdered him, and burned him in his own kitchen.

## SECTION VI.

*Of the Monks in this Period, and the Rise of the Franciscans, and Dominicans.*

IN this period of our history we find a new and most important æra in the affairs of the church, viz. the rise of the *mendicant orders*, who, when the preceding orders of monks were in general fallen into disrepute, on account of the relaxation of their discipline, acquired the greatest reputation, not only for their austerity and abstractedness from the world, but for their activity, and real services to what was then called *the church*, and especially the church of Rome, to which they were particularly devoted.

The disorders into which the monks in general, not even excepting those of Clugni, or mount Cassin, formerly so famous, had fallen, appeared from the proceedings of the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215. In the former the prior of la Charité revolted from the abbot, and an open war was carried on between them. At this council orders were given for the reformation of the monks in general, but more especially those who had no *general chapters*, as they appeared to be more dissolute than

than the rest. All the orders of monks were, therefore, now required to have general chapters, for the express purpose of the reformation of abuses; and as the multiplicity of the orders was found to be a great source of abuse, it was decreed that there should be no new ones formed. So little effect, however, had this regulation, that more new orders were founded after this council than had existed before it.

The monasteries in England being in a state of great disorder, the pope in A. D. 1234 sent visitors to all of them that depended upon him. They were chiefly abbots of the Cistercian order, and that of Prémontré, but they acted with so much harshness and indiscretion, that there were many appeals from them to the pope, and other visitors were appointed. On the whole, however, according to Matthew Paris, more harm than good resulted from the visitation, which extended to all the kingdom.

Sunk, however, as the monks were in the general esteem, there were some instances in this period, as well as the preceding, of persons of distinction thinking there was some advantage in dying in that character. James I king of Arragon, surnamed *the Conqueror*, on account of his many victories over the Moors, but remarkably addicted to women, finding himself dangerously ill, put on the

habit of a Cistercian monk, and made a vow that if he recovered he would spend the remainder of his life in a monastery. He died A. D. 1276.

We find, however, much of real religion, though mixed with superstitious rigour, in the society of the *Beghards*, who were men, and of the *Begines*, who were women, who appeared about this time. These terms signify *beggars* in the German language. They distinguished themselves by the meanness of their appearance, as well as their earnestness in prayer, and for this reason the appellation was often given, without proper discrimination, to very different kinds of religionists. The same persons were sometimes called *Lollards*, and in France *Beghines*. In Flanders they were sometimes called *the fraternity of weavers*, as they were chiefly of that occupation. The first regular society of these persons was formed at Antwerp in A. D. 1228. They agreed to live according to a certain rule, and in subjection to a chief, but with liberty to return to their former mode of life. These societies never obtained the sanction of the popes, tho' they were often protected by them from the violence of their enemies, *Musheim*, Vol. 3. p. 82. 87.

After giving this unfavourable account of the monks in general within this period, I proceed to relate the extraordinary histories of St. Francis and Dominic, each the founder of a distinct order, tho'

tho' much resembling one another, both professedly mendicants, and both preachers, in which respects they were exceedingly different from the preceding order of monks, who were confined to one place, and with whom begging was disreputable; and who, far from preaching, devoted themselves to solitary meditation, or joint prayer. Francis appearing a short time before Dominic, I shall give his history, and that of his order, in the first place.

St. Francis, as he was afterwards denominated, was born at Assisi in Umbria in A. D. 1182, his father being a merchant. At the age of twenty-five he discovered a turn of mind so wholly religious, and so unfit for business, that his father was much displeased, and threatened to disinherit him. To this the young man was so far from having any objection, that, in the presence of the bishop of Assisi, he solemnly disclaimed all expectations from him, and declared that from that time he would acknowledge only his father in heaven.

From this time he devoted himself to works of charity, and those of the most humiliating kind, such as attending upon lepers. He repaired, and chiefly with the labour of his own hands, two churches, which were in a ruinous condition, the latter about a mile from Assisi, and in this he lodged, and passed

two years. One day, as he was hearing mass in this place, he was so forcibly struck with the following expressions in the charge that our Saviour gave to the twelve apostles previous to their mission, Mat. 10, 9. *Provide neither gold nor silver, nor brags in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, &c.* that he cried out, "This is what I seek;" and immediately he threw away his shoes, his staff, his wallet, and all his money, and kept only one coat. He also laid aside his girdle which was of leather, and made use of a piece of rope in its place.

From this time, in imitation of the apostles, he began to exhort other persons to repent, and he did it in a very forcible manner, and with wonderful success, always beginning his discourses with saying, "God give you peace." When he had got three disciples, they dispersed themselves to preach in different places; when some persons received them with great humanity, looking with astonishment on their extraordinary dress and austerities, but in other places people made a mock of them, and abused them. This, however, they bore with the greatest patience. When he had seven disciples, he exhorted them to go to different countries, preaching repentance, without regarding any treatment they might meet with; assuring them that, in a short time many of the learned and the noble

noble would join them, and that they would preach to kings and princes, as well as to the common people. When he had eleven disciples, one of whom was as priest, he wrote out a rule for them, taken wholly out of the gospels, and presented it to pope Innocent III, who, after making some objections, approved of it in A. D. 1210.

Francis having obtained this confirmation of his institute, went with twelve disciples, and established himself in a church which he had repaired at Pontremoli, and this was the first house of his order, which by way of humility he called that of the *minor brethren*, *fratres minores*, in French *freres*, and in English by corruption *friars*, as the Dominicans had at the same assumed the appellation of *preaching brothers*, or *friars*; and this term it will be convenient to use to distinguish these two orders from the *monks*.

From this place they went forth preaching in the neighbouring towns and villages, not with studied harangues, but in a manner that impressed their hearers in an extraordinary manner, as they had the appearance of men of another world, having their faces always turned towards heaven, whither they were continually directing their audience. Proceeding in this manner, they soon had more followers, and in A. D. 1211 they founded several convents, the most considerable of which were

were those of Cortona, Pisa, and Bologna; and Francis himself, having preached thro' all Tuscany, returned to Assisi in lent in A. D. 1212.

In such veneration was he at this time held, that when he went into any city they rung the bells, and the clergy and people went to meet him, bearing branches of trees, and singing, thinking themselves happy who could kiss his hands or feet. That lent he preached at his native place, where he had many converts, and among them St. Claire, a young woman of a noble family, who by his direction, tho' only at the age of eighteen, abandoned the world, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of her relations, fixed herself in a monastery first at St. Ange de Panza, where she was joined by her sister Agnes, and then at St. Damien of the order of the Benedictines, which was the first church that St. Francis had repaired. Here she continued forty-two years, many disciples joining her; and thus was formed the order of *poor women*, or that of *St. Claire*, being the second order of Franciscans.

At this time Francis was in doubt whether he should continue to preach, or apply to prayer, and he consulted one Silvester, who lived wholly occupied in prayer on a mountain near Assisi, and also St. Claire, that they might inform him what was revealed to them on the subject; and both their



their answers agreeing that he should apply to preaching, he did so. Thus determined, which was about A. D. 1216, he gave instructions to his disciples to go in pairs, as the apostles had done in their mission, behaving with all humility and good order, and preaching peace wherever they came. He sent them thus instructed into Spain, Provence, and Germany, into which country he sent no less than sixty brothers. He himself intended to go to France, but by the advice of his friend cardinal Hugolin bishop of Ostia, he sent another person, and continued himself in Italy. But his preachers being often insulted, and the whole order exposed to violence, he got a *protector* of his order fixed at the court of Rome, and the first of them was cardinal Hugolin.

So rapidly did this order of Franciscans increase, that at a chapter general held near Assisi the 26th of May A. D. 1219, when Dominic was present, there appeared to be not less than five thousand in it, tho' they had not been established more than nine or ten years. At this time some of the order wished to have a power of preaching independently of the parochial clergy, but Francis opposed it; saying that by their humility, and useful services, they should gain the good will of the clergy, that they should cover their faults, and supply their defects. And June 11th, of that year

year pope Honorius III issued a bull, addressed to all bishops and the higher orders of ecclesiastics, recommending the Franciscans as apostolical men, but not giving them any independent powers.

About this time many women were converted by his preachers, and formed themselves into monasteries ; but he refused to take the charge of any of them, except that of St. Claire, and expressed his wishes that his brethren might have no connection with them. He used to say, " I fear that " while God takes women from us " (for the Franciscans took the vow of continence) " the devil " should send us his sisters."

After this Francis sent his chief disciples into distant countries, with a number of companions, taking for himself and twelve others, the mission of Syria and Egypt. And they went forth with the spirit of confessors and martyrs ; for when men expose themselves to almost certain death, there cannot be a doubt of their being in earnest. Two of his missionaries going to Africa endeavoured to go into a mosque ; and preaching in the streets, and putting themselves in the way of the king, he first ordered them to be confined ; but as they continued their importunity, he was so much enraged, that he struck off their heads with his own hands, while they suffered with the greatest resignation. Francis himself went to Egypt, during the siege of  
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Damiata, and getting access to the sultan, he offered to go into the fire in proof of the truth of his religion. But the sultan, who heard him with great patience, did not chuse to put him to that test; but admiring his courage, dismissed him with much good humour, desiring him to pray to God that he would shew him which religion was most agreeable to him.

In A. D. 1221 seven Franciscans went to Ceuta, to preach to the Moors; but they were soon apprehended, and not yielding to the command of the king to turn Mahometans, they were all beheaded.

In the same year a third order of Franciscans, called *brothers of repentance*, was instituted by St. Anthony of Padua. His original name was Ferdinand, and he was a native of Lisbon in Portugal. Many persons expressing their desire to embrace the order, he was unwilling to dissolve so many regular marriages, and dispeople the country; and therefore he gave them a rule, according to which they might serve God in a similar manner in their houses, living in some measure like monks, but without austerity. This was confirmed by pope Nicolas IV, sixty-eight years after.

St. Anthony was many years minister provincial of the Franciscans in Romania, and greatly distinguished himself by preaching on the subject  
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of morals, and in the controversy with the heretics. It is said that the society of Flagellants began from his preaching. In A. D. 1221 he fixed himself at Padua, where he sometimes preached in the open air to thirty thousand persons, who came from all the neighbouring towns. His discourses had a wonderful effect in converting prostitutes, delivering prisoners, reconciling enemies, procuring the restitution of usury, and the remission of debts. He preached every day. He died this year at the age of thirty six, ten of which he had passed among the Franciscans, and he was canonized the year following.

The rule of the Franciscans was not fully confirmed till the 9th of November A. D. 1213, when it was done by a bull of pope Nicolas III. Besides engaging to live in obedience to their superior, in chastity, and without any property, they vowed obedience to the pope, and his successors. And certainly both the orders of mendicants were of much greater use in the support of the papal hierarchy, and combating heretics, than all the orders of monks had ever been. Indeed, such was the number of persons in this period disaffected to the see of Rome, that it is very doubtful whether, without this seasonable assistance, it could have been supported at all.

St. Francis pretended that the particulars of his tale were dictated to him word for word by God himself. But even this is not near so extraordinary a circumstance as what is related of him in the last period of his life. In A. D. 1224, two years before his death, he retired to mount Alverne in the confines of Tuscany, in order to pass the Easter, when he pretended to see in a vision the appearance of Christ upon the cross, descending from heaven. But being awake from his vision, he found all the marks of crucifixion on his own body. His hands and feet were actually pierced with nails, or something resembling nails, the heads being within, and the points clenched on the other side; and on his right side was a red scar, as by a lance, from which there often oozed a quantity of blood, which stained his clothes. This remarkable history is contained in the life of St. Francis written by Bonaventure, who declares that pope Alexander IV asserted in a public discourse, which he himself heard, that he had seen those marks. Many other persons are said to have attested the same on oath, tho' while he lived he endeavoured, thro' modesty, to conceal them. But when he died, which was October 4th, A. D. 1226, many persons saw and examined the wounds, when the nails were still in them, and moveable in the flesh. *Floury*, Vol. 16. p. 578.

In A. D. 1257 one Ecchard a Dominican preacher in Moravia, asserted in a public discourse, that St. Francis had never received the *stigmata*, as these marks of crucifixion were called, that the Franciscans were liars, and impostors, who invented the story to assist their begging. and that by the pope's authority he had a power of excommunicating them. But the pope hearing of this, wrote to the superior of the order to suspend that preacher. He also wrote to the church at Olmutz, and all the faithful in Germany, to certify the truth of the stigmata, as having been the principal motive for the canonization of St. Francis.

Dominic (de Gusman) was born at Calahorra in Arragon, or according to others at Calarvega, in the diocese of Osma in Castille, in A. D. 1170. He was the son of Felix Gusman, of a noble and antient family. After studying at Palencia, he was made canon, and afterwards archdeacon, of Osma, and then professor of theology at Placentia. But this employment he quitted to go to preach after the manner of Francis, which he did in several parts of Spain, in which he gave proof of great zeal and charity, relieving the poor and afflicted. Coming into France with the bishop of Osma, he greatly distinguished himself by preaching against the Albigenes, and there he formed the design of instituting an order of *preachers*; and for this purpose

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pose Fulk bishop of Thoulouse brought him to the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, that he might be examined by the pope. But before this he had given him and his companions possession of a handsome house in Thoulouse. He also gave him the sixth part of the tythes of his diocese, for the purchase of books and subsistence.

The scheme of Dominic being approved by the pope, he consulted with his followers, when they agreed to adopt the rules of St. Austin, but with several additions; and that they might have no impediment in their preaching, which was their chief object, and from which they were denominated *preaching brothers*, or *predicant friars*, they resolved to have no estates in land, but only revenues. They were then sixteen in number, and the bishop of Thoulouse gave them their first church, viz. that dedicated to St. Romanus in that city; and near to it he built cloisters with cells over them, where they might study and sleep. Honorius III confirmed the order in A. D. 1216, exempting them from paying tythes of their possessions, and ordering that they should depend upon the diocesan for episcopal functions; and the prior was to be chosen by the free votes of the brethren; so that the Dominicans, at their first institution, were not *beggars*, nor exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, but canons regular,

The next year Dominic sent out his followers in pairs, after chusing a superior, to whom he gave the title of *abbot*; but all the succeeding ones were called *masters*, and the superiors of particular houses *priors*. He sent four to Spain, four to Paris, and two more to study there; and obtaining the house of St. James for their church, they were called *Jacobines* thro' France. Hearing of the death of Simon de Montfort at the siege of Thoulouse, Dominic went thither to comfort his brethren. Thence, in A. D. 1218, he went into Spain, and founded two monasteries, one at Madrid, and the other at Segovia. Thence he went to Paris, where he found thirty brethren, and thence to Bologna, where Arnould, who joined him at Rome, had been very successful, and had formed a large society. From this city he went to Rome, and at Parma he met St. Francis; when, after conferring together, they agreed not to accept of church livings. Dominic proposed to unite the two orders; but Francis thought it would be better that they should keep separate, but in perfect harmony.

In A. D. 1220 Dominic, by the direction of Honorius III, removed all the nuns in Rome, to the number of forty-four, from their several houses, much against the will of their relations, to the church of St. Sixtus, where they received from his hands a new habit, and promised obedience to him;  
and



and from this time their relations had no access to them without witnesses, which sufficiently implies that those visits had been the cause of much disorder.


The same year Dominic held the first chapter general of his order at Bologna, when it was resolved that the preaching friars should profess perfect poverty, and make that the fundamental principle of their order, that they should renounce for ever all estates in land, and rents, even those which they had at Thoulouse, the possession of which had been secured to them by the pope's bull. In this chapter *definiteurs* were appointed with power even over the generals, during the holding of chapters, and it was agreed that these chapters should be held every year, at Paris and Bologna alternately. At the second chapter general, held at Bologna, eight *provincials* were chosen, to superintend the preachers in the eight provinces of Spain, France, Lombardy, Romagna, Provence, Germany, Hungary, and England. Presently after this, viz. August 26th, A. D. 1221, Dominic died, in the 51st year of his age, with great marks of piety; and lest his order should be hurt by the maxims of worldly prudence, he forbade, under the curse of God and his own, the introduction of temporal possessions into the order. In A. D. 1223 he was canonized.

These preaching friars had so much zeal at the first, and considered preaching as so essential to their institution, that they were not satisfied if they did not exhort at least one person every day. Each of them carried with him a copy of the gospel of Matthew, and of the seven canonical epistles, according to the express order of Dominic.

On the retreat of the students and professors from the university of Paris, the Dominicans established a chair of theology in that city, to the success of which the high character of their general Jourdan contributed not a little, as also the great number of doctors and students who had entered into the order. For tho' they had changed their habits, they still gave lectures,

Among the Dominican preachers, one of the most distinguished in this early period was John of Vicenza. He gained so much upon the people of Bologna, that he became master of the city. So great was his reputation, that the pope wished to employ him to reconcile the cities that were at variance, and he was obliged to threaten the citizens with ecclesiastical censures, to compel them to let him go.

Another order of mendicants owes its origin to pope Alexander IV, who united two sects of hermits, viz. those of *William* and those of *St. Austin*, giving



giving them both the appellation of *the Hermits of St. Austin*. These, with the Carmelites, made four orders of mendicants. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. p. 52.

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## SECTION VII.

*Some Particulars relating to both the Orders of Mendicants, and others of a miscellaneous Nature, concerning them and the Monks.*

**B**OTH the Franciscans and Dominicans were soon found of great use to the see of Rome, on which account the popes gave them every encouragement, and many privileges; but the secular clergy taking umbrage at it, it was some times found necessary to restrict them.

In A. D. 1254 Innocent IV forbade confession to any priest who was a stranger, without the permission of the curé. The friars were also forbidden to preach during the hour of mass, lest they should draw the people from the parish churches. If the bishop himself chose to preach, no friar must preach in the same place at the same time. If any of them buried a person, the bishop, or the curé, was to have a third, or a fourth of the fees. This

bull, however, was revoked by Alexander IV in A. D. 1255. At the same time that he restored to the university of Paris those doctors of the mendicants who had been excluded by his predecessor. However, the scholars and the antient members of the university remonstrated against this, and many of them left the university ; but the pope paid no regard to their opposition.

In A. D. 1256 arbitrators were chosen, who decided that the mendicants should have no more than two schools there, separate from those of the secular masters and scholars, and that they should renounce all particular privileges. But the pope cancelled this accommodation, and obliged the university to receive the mendicant professors, especially Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventure. They ordered, however, that in all the public acts they should rank after the other professors.

By a bull of pope Martin IV, in A. D. 1282, those persons who confessed to a friar were ordered to confess at least once a year to their curé.

The bishops soon took great offence at the privileges granted to the friars, and a council being held on the subject at Rheims, in A. D. 1287, it was agreed not to allow them those privileges till they had a second order from Rome ; and they settled the contribution of each clergyman to prosecute the affair at Rome.

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Lewis the IX of France was so much attached to the mendicants, that he was determined to resign the government of his kingdom to his son, and become one of them; but his queen dissuaded him from it. He wished that two of his sons and his daughter might embrace that mode of life, and took measures for that purpose, but they did not succeed.

In A. D. 1243 there was a great dispute between the two orders of mendicants which occasioned a great scandal, like that between the knights Templars and Hospitallers in Palestine. The Dominicans said, "We wear a more decent dress." The Franciscans replied, "We have for the love of God embraced a more austere and humble life, and are consequently more holy." The Dominicans answered, "It is true that you go barefooted, ill dressed, and girded with a rope, but you are not forbidden, as we are, to eat flesh meat, even in public, and to make good cheer."

The great favour shewn to the mendicants, especially by Lewis IX, excited the jealousy of the secular clergy, and of the monks, who said they loved the tables of princes and prelates, and to get posts of honour; that they meddled with public business, entering into the councils of lords and prelates, and sitting with them in courts of judicature. On the other hand the superior zeal and

literature of the mendicants made them despise the monks, as idle and useless.

In the letters of Peter de Vignes, secretary of the emperor Frederic, there is one, written in the name of the clergy, and seemingly addressed to the emperor, containing heavy complaints against the mendicants. "They declaim against us," they say, "in their sermons, and have diminished our rights so much, that we are reduced to nothing. Whereas before we commanded princes, and made the people fear us, we are now a laughing stock to them; they engross all our advantages from penances, baptisms, the anointing of the sick, and the burial of the dead."

According to Matthew Paris, the mendicants abused their privileges of preaching and confessing, exposing the ignorance of the secular clergy; and the parishioners chusing to confess to these itinerants, rather than to their own clergy, sinners were under less restraint. The superiority assumed by the mendicants had, however, one good effect. The monks being despised by the friars for their ignorance, Stephen de Lexington an Englishman established a college for the Cistercian monks in Paris, which was the origin of the college of Bernardines there.

Before the year A. D. 1289 the Franciscans had fallen into great disorder, when Raimond Goffredi  
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of Provence was made their general, the preceding general after he was made a cardinal, having lived like a prince; so that they were far removed from the state of poverty recommended by their founder. They received money at the first masses of new priests, they had chests placed in churches to receive money for masses, they attended anniversaries for the dead for a certain sum, like the secular priests; they placed at the doors of their churches little boys, who took money of passengers, and offered them little candles to sell, and burn them in honour of the saints; the friars themselves trafficked in the streets and markets, taking with them little children, who received the money; they abandoned their solitary and poor houses, to build handsome ones, at a great expence in cities, in which those of the place lived to the exclusion of strangers, and none of them would remove far from their country or relations.

In A. D. 1256 William de St. Amour wrote a book intituled, *The dangers of the latter days*, in which, without naming them, he inveighed bitterly against the mendicants, as unauthorized preachers, and dangerous to the church. But pope Alexander IV condemned the book, ordering it to be burned within eight days by any person who had a copy of it, under pain of excommunication. This work of St. Amour was answered at large by Thomas Aquinas. In

In A. D. 1269 there arose a controversy of some note between Gerard of Abbeville a doctor in Paris, and Bonaventure, about the principles of the mendicants; the former objecting to them, and the latter defending them. Gerard said it was ridiculous to pretend to have no property in things which are consumed in the use. "To whom," says he, "belongs the money which you amass from all quarters, if you have nothing even in common." Bonaventure replied, "It is to the pope, and the church of Rome, that the property of all that is given to us belongs. We have nothing but the use of it. We are with respect to the pope what children in the family are with respect to their father, who receive nothing but the property of it passes immediately to him."

In A. D. 1279 pope Nicolas III published a declaration of the institute of St. Francis, answering the objections that had been made to it, and authorizing the reasoning of Bonaventure; saying that the property of what was given to the friars belonged to the pope and the church of Rome, that the places allotted them for their habitations always belonged to those who gave them; and that the property of money given them is in the same state, till it be actually converted into necessaries. In answer to the objection that had been made to them, as not labouring as at the first, he said, that bodily



ly labour might be dispensed with in the case of those who applied themselves to higher duties. He observed, however, that friars must not preach without the leave of the diocesan bishop, except by order of the holy see. Lastly he forbade any person to write or preach against the rule of St. Francis.

In this period there arose a kind of spurious mendicants, calling themselves *Apostolics*, the founder of whom was Gerard Segarelle, a native of Parma, wholly illiterate, and of little understanding. Not being able to get admitted among the Franciscans, and seeing the pictures of the apostles as they are commonly drawn in churches, he imitated their dress; and selling all that he had, gave the money to the poor. Numbers joining him, they spread themselves thro' all parts of Europe; but being charged with many disorders, and also with holding heretical opinions, tho' they are not named, they were suppressed by pope Honorius in A. D. 1285, and again by Innocent IV in A. D. 1290; and Segarelle being apprehended, was burned at Parma in July A. D. 1300.

Notwithstanding repeated decrees of councils against the appointment of *new religious*, as they were called, or new orders of persons peculiarly devoted to what was then called religion, several new orders, and some of note, besides those of the mendicants, were instituted in this period.

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In A. D. 1206 Albert bishop of Riga instituted a military order called the *brothers of Christ*, also *brothers of the sword*, the object of which was the defence of the newly converted Christians of those parts against their heathen neighbours. But after a great defeat of these knights, and of many crusaders who had joined them in A. D. 1236 they united themselves to the Teutonic knights, and the pope published a bull for that purpose in A. D. 1237. To these Teutonic knights duke Conrad in A. D. 1226 had given the territory of Culm, and all the lands they should conquer from the infidels in Prussia.

During the crusades against the Albigenes, many women in Flanders, at the head of whom was Mary de Oigres, devoted themselves to works of labour and charity; those of them that were married persuading their husbands to live in continence, at least in part; and this they did notwithstanding the ridicule to which they were exposed. An account of them is given by Philip de Vitri, who assisted them by his preaching.

In A. D. 1213 the order of *Mercy* was founded, for the redemption of Christian captives.

At the council of Lyons in A. D. 1274 new orders of monks were forbidden, and some that had been lately formed were suppressed; but this was expressly said not to include the two orders of Domin-

minicans and Franciscans, on account of their evident utility to the universal church. However, the order of *Servants of the virgin Mary*, commonly called *Servites*, instituted at Florence thirty-seven years before, was confirmed.

The mendicants it is supposed devised the scenical representation of religious subjects in churches, intended to give the common people some knowledge of scripture history, and interest them in it; but they served to turn the whole subject into ridicule with persons of sense. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. p. 107.

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## SECTION VIII.

*The History of the Albigenfes.*

IN the preceding period of this history we have seen the great progress that was made by persons who held several manichean principles, together with others that were hostile to the church of Rome, aiming at the subversion of the whole hierarchy, in the southern provinces of France. As they were most numerous in the neighbourhood of Albi, or as some say because their tenets were condemned in a council held in that city, (but

(but the greatest part of Narbonne Gaul was sometimes called *Albigesum*. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. p. 119.) they at length got the appellation of *Albigenses*,\* tho' there were among them others who held none of their manichean principles, and who were called  
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\* To the account of the *Albigenses*, p. 113, add the following particulars. After a ceremony corresponding to that of *extreme unction*, but in which no use was made of oil, they thought it necessary that the subject should die; and therefore when he might have recovered, they enjoined what was called *endura*, or a voluntary death, generally by refusing all food. This favoured of their manicheism.

After another ceremony, which was generally termed *spiritual baptism*, by which some of them were admitted into the class of the *perfect*, it was deemed unlawful to touch, or to be touched by, a woman, even the nearest relation.

They had a peculiar mode of salutation, and peculiar ceremonies at their meals, by which they were distinguished from other Christians.

They maintained that all bodily punishment, and especially that of death, was unlawful. See *Limborch's History of the Inquisition by Chandler*, p. 42. &c. Tho' these circumstances and others were made use of in courts of judicature, in order to ascertain whether any person belonged to the sect, little account would have been made of them if they had not denied the authority of the church of Rome.

*Waldenses*, having come chiefly from the vallies of Piedmont. These heretics, as they were called, were now become so numerous and powerful, supported by the lords of the country, and among them by Raimond IV count of Thoulouse, and Raimond Roger V count of Foix, that the court of Rome was seriously alarmed; and hence arose a religious war, the most destructive of men of any that we read of in the annals of the Christian church, the particulars of which I shall now recite.

In order to oppose the progress of these heretics, pope Innocent III first sent two legates, Peter de Castelnau, and Raoul, both Cistercian monks, in A. D. 1204; who coming to Thoulouse, endeavoured to persuade the people to drive the heretics out of the city. This they promised, but very little was effected, as the heretics held their assemblies by night. And it soon appearing that they were not to be suppressed without force, the pope applied to Philip Augustus king of France, to assist his legates, and employ his arms in defence of the church. In the mean time the persecution was carried on against the heretics in various parts of France, and in A. D. 1205 several were burned at Braine in the diocese of Rheims, and among them one Nicolas, a famous painter.

The legates were afterwards joined by the bishop of Osma from Spain, accompanied by Do-

minic, whose history has been given in a separate section. But one of the legates, viz. Peter de Castelnau, having excommunicated the count of Thoulouse, was murdered as he was leaving the country, but it was never discovered by whom. The pope being informed of it, wrote on the 1st of March A. D. 1208 to all the lords in the southern parts of France, treating Peter as a martyr, informing them that he had ordered the clergy to redouble their zeal against the heretics, and that he had excommunicated the murderers, and all their accomplices. But the proper object of his letter was to urge them to join their forces against the heretics; and for this purpose he promised remission of sins to all who should revenge the innocent blood that had been shed. He farther said, that, as the count of Thoulouse had been justly suspected of the murder, he had ordered him to be again excommunicated; adding that, since, according to the canons, "faith is not to be kept with those who keep no faith with God," he absolved from their oath of fealty all persons who had taken it to him, and permitted any Catholic to seize his lands, with a view to purge them of all heresy. Not content with this exhortation, addressed to the neighbours of the count, the pope published a plenary indulgence to all who would take the cross, in order to exterminate the heretics of Languedoc.

guedoc. Accordingly, it was taken by great numbers, who wore it on their breasts, to distinguish themselves from the other crusaders.

In the mean time, the count sent to the pope, to inform him that his legates had acted with too much harshness; that however he was innocent of the murder, and ready to make any submission that should be required of him, if he would send a proper person for the purpose. Accordingly the pope sent Milon, one of his clergy, who ordered the count to attend him at Valence, and there made him promise to deliver seven of his castles, which he did from a dread of the great army of crusaders which he saw was ready to pour upon him; and having done this, he was absolved, but in a manner that was very humiliating, having been brought June 18th, A. D. 1209, to the door of the church in his shirt, and taken an oath to obey all the orders of the pope, with respect to every thing for which he had been excommunicated. He also thought it necessary to desire the legate to give the cross to himself.

By this time the crusaders were assembled from all quarters at the festival of St. John, and at the head of them was Peter archbishop of Sens, and several other prelates, Eudes III duke of Burgundy, Simon of Montfort, and other lay lords. Taking the count of Thoulouse along with them, they

proceeded to Beziers ; and the inhabitants despising their summons, they took it by assault, and after putting all they found in it to the sword, they set fire to the city, July 22d. It was supposed that seven thousand persons were slain in the churches in which they had taken refuge. In the next place they went to Carcassone, the inhabitants of which surrendered to them, on condition of leaving the place in their shirts, which accordingly they did August 5th.

On the 6th of September, a great council was held at Avignon, where it was ordered that the bishops should preach oftener than they had done, since to their negligence was attributed the increase of heresy, and the corruption of manners. The citizens of Thoulouse were excommunicated for not having expelled the heretics from their city, and the count, if he should revive certain taxes which he had renounced. At the same time all the relations of the murderers of Peter de Castelnau, to the third generation, were rendered incapable of any ecclesiastical benefice.

The next year, towards the end of June, Simon de Montfort besieged the castle of Minorbe in the diocese of Carcassone, promising those who held it their lives, on condition of their conversion. But those of them who were of the rank of *perfect*, men and women, rejected the proposal with great indig-



indignation ; and when the fire was lighted to burn them, they went into it of their own accord. These were about an hundred and forty. The rest abjured their heresy. Many of the bishops of France engaged in this war, and with them was William of Paris, an excellent engineer, who contributed materially to the taking of the castle of Carcassone. Towards the end of this year, the count of Thoulouse applied to the pope with great humility for the restoration of his seven castles ; but being still suspected of the murder of Peter de Castelnau, and also of heresy, two persons were appointed to receive his justification ; and after a public hearing before a council assembled in Provence, his sincerity being suspected, he was again excommunicated.

About the middle of lent, A. D. 1211, the bishop of Paris went to Carcassone, with many other crusaders, and soon after the bishops of Lisieux and Bayeux, during the siege of Lavour, which was taken by assault May 3d. They took out of it Aimeri of Montreal, and other knights, to the number of eighty, whom the count of Montfort ordered to be hanged ; but the gallows breaking, he ordered them to be put to the sword, which the pilgrims were eager to execute. At the same time they burned three hundred, and by the order of the count they threw into a pit the sister of Aimeri, called an obstinate heretic, and buried her

with stones. They then took a castle called Cuper, and the bishops not being able to convert any of them, the pilgrims burned about sixty with great exultation.

At this time the bishop of Thoulouse would have had an ordination in the city, but he could not do it because the count was in a state of excommunication. He, therefore, requested that he would go out till the ceremony was over. But he not only refused, but insisted on the bishop leaving the place under pain of death, and with this order he was, after some time, obliged to comply. His clergy also left the city, walking barefoot, and carrying the host. The bishop afterwards formed the citizens into confraternities, for the extirpation of heretics and usurpers, in order that they might have the benefit of the same indulgences that were granted to the crusaders. The inhabitants of the suburbs also formed a separate confraternity, and favouring the heretics, they often fought with each other. At length, however, tho' with some difficulty, the count engaged both of them (tho' those of the city had been concerned in the siege of Lavour) to unite, and defend the city against Montfort, who threatened it with a siege; and in consequence of this, the bishop excommunicated them all.

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In July Montfort, with the assistance of a large reinforcement, by the arrival of the count of Bar in Lorrain, and many of the German nobility, actually laid siege to Thoulouse; but not having troops enow, he soon raised the siege. After this the bishop of Cohors invited Montfort to take possession of his city, which belonged to the count, and there he was received. But many of the places which he had taken revolted from him, and many of the crusaders, after they had served the forty days, which was all that their vow engaged them to do, left him, and both those inconveniences frequently happened in the course of this war.

In the following winter William archdeacon of Paris, and James de Vitri, and of Argenteueil, joined by the bishop of Thoulouse, preaching the crusade thro' France and Germany, gave the cross to prodigious numbers. Also Gui bishop of Carcassone, and many other bishops, were indefatigable in promoting the war, calling it the war of Jesus Christ.

In A. D. 1213 the count of Thoulouse, finding that he could not do better, made over his estates to his brother in law, Alphonso king of Arragon, who thereupon wrote to the pope, complaining of the harsh treatment of the count, and begging that his estates might be reserved for his son, then only fifteen years of age; and also that he would accept

of the penance of the count himself, who was ready to serve against the Saracens, either beyond sea or in Spain. Upon this the pope, unwilling to have any difference with the king, wrote to count Montfort, to restore to the king what he had taken from the count; and a council was held at Lavour for the purpose of making terms with the king. But not coming to any agreement, Alphonso acted openly in defence of the Albigenes, tho' appealing to the pope. On the representation of the legates, the pope required the king to abandon the people of Thoulouse, in the mean time ordering a truce between him, and the count of Montfort, who, however, paying no regard to this requisition, challenged the count, so that the war continued all the summer.

In February this year, Lewis, the son of the king of France, took the cross against the Albigenes, and after his example many knights; but his war with the king of England obliged him to assist his sister; and the crusade for the holy land took off so many, that Montfort was almost abandoned, when he was joined by two brothers Manafley bishop of Orleans, and William bishop of Auxerre, with as many troops as they could collect. With this reinforcement he marched to Carcassone, and on the 10th of September, having made preparations to besiege Muret, the crusaders made a pecu-

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liarly solemn preparation for battle. The bishop of Thoulouse advancing with his mitre on his head, and what was supposed to be the true cross of Christ in his hand, all the crusaders alighted from their horses, and one by one adored it; when the bishop of Comminges, seeing that this method would take up too much time, took the cross in his hand, and from an elevated situation gave the whole army his solemn benediction, saying, "Go in the name of Jesus Christ, I will be your surety at the day of judgment, that whoever dies in this battle shall receive the eternal glory of martyrdom, without passing thro' purgatory;" and the other bishops present confirmed what he said. Inflamed by this ceremony, and these declarations, the army, previously arranged in three bodies, in honour of the trinity, advanced against the enemy, while the bishops and the rest of the clergy went into a neighbouring church, where they prayed with a loud voice for the combatants. These measures had the desired effect. They obtained a complete victory, and the king of Arragon was killed in the battle.

In the middle of April A. D. 1214 there arrived a fresh army of crusaders, conducted by the bishop of Carcassone, the general rendezvous being at Beziers in Easter. And in the course of this summer the count of Montfort took several castles in

Quercy and Agenois, and among them Muriac, where they found seven of the Waldenses, whom the crusaders burned with great joy. These conquests being made by the crusaders, the pope's legate claimed them, as belonging to the pope; and the son of Lewis not objecting to it, the pope gave the guardianship of all the conquered places to Montfort, till the meeting of a general council in November following. In the Christmas of this year, count Baldwin, brother of the count of Thoulouse, was taken by treachery, and after cruel usage was hanged by the order of his brother.

At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, the count of Thoulouse, accompanied by his son, and the count of Foix, claimed the restitution of their estates, of which they had been deprived by the crusaders; but they were confirmed to the count of Montfort, and Raimond was only allowed a pension of four hundred marks of silver. It was, however, agreed that the places which had not yet been conquered should be reserved for his son, when he should be of age. This youth being thus favoured, several cities revolted from Montfort, particularly Avignon, Marseilles, St. Gilles, Beaucaire, and Tarascon.

In the mean time the father, who had been in Spain, had taken possession of Thoulouse, while Montfort had been engaged in the war against the revolted

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revolted cities, in September A. D. 1217. The pope, alarmed at this, exerted himself to the utmost to recover it, and wrote to the king of France to engage his assistance. Accordingly Montfort advanced to the siege of Thoulouse, but after lying before it nine months, he was killed in a sally of the besieged June 25th, A. D. 1218. Amauri his son, who succeeded him in the command, raised the siege a month after, many of the crusaders having returned home, and many of the people of the country having quitted his party, and joined the enemy. Dominic, hearing of the death of Montfort, left Rome, to go and comfort his brethren.

This event was severely felt by the crusaders, and the pope, who immediately sent legates to the king of France, to engage him to compromise his differences with the king of England, and march against the heretics. But nothing was effected of a considerable time, and the count of Thoulouse died in peaceable possession of the city, and with all the marks of a good catholic, tho' in a state of excommunication. He was succeeded by his son Raimond VIII, then twenty-five years of age, who continued the war against Amauri de Montfort; but being afraid of Lewis, the son of Philip Augustus, he made his peace, and was absolved from his excommunication; promising, at a council held

held at Montpelier August 26th, A. D. 1224, to adhere to the catholic faith of the church of Rome, and cause it to be professed in all his states, also to repair the injury that had been done to the church, and pay twenty-five thousand marks of silver, provided the pope would discharge him from the pretensions of the count de Montfort. This he confirmed by oath, which was also taken by Roger count de Foix, and the count of Beziers.

In A. D. 1226, Amauri, having now no other resource, surrendered to Lewis VIII all his right to the estates of the count of Thoulouse, and then the king took the cross, with almost all the bishops and barons of his kingdom, in order wholly to exterminate the Albigenes. At the same time preachers were sent into all the provinces, to publish a plenary indulgence to all who would go on the expedition; and the pope's legate, with the consent of the bishops, promised the king a hundred thousand livres a year for five years, with a tenth of the levies upon the clergy, and that if this should not be sufficient, the remainder of his expences should be paid out of the treasury of the church.

Encouraged by this, the king appointed a meeting of the crusaders at Bourges the fourth Sunday in Easter, and in the spring of the year A. D. 1226, he attended at the place, from which he proceeded to Lyons. Every place received him till he came



to Avignon, which he besieged, and took after two months by composition, when there had been a great mortality both in the city and among the besiegers, who lost there two thousand men. After this the king went to Montpensier in Auvergne, where he died November 8th. However, the army, now commanded by Imbert de Beaujeu, marched to Thoulouse, and made such destruction in the neighbourhood, that the count listened to a proposal of peace; agreeing to meet at Meaux the year following to settle the terms of it. There the count was reconciled to the church, promising to make strict inquiry after the heretics within his estates, and drive them out of them; and for a penance he took the cross to serve five years against the Saracens. He gave his only daughter in marriage to the brother of the king of France, who, if he had no children, was to inherit all his estates. In April the count received absolution at the hands of the pope's legate, after being led to the altar barefooted, with only his shirt and drawers on.

Thus ended this destructive war, to the extirpation of the Albigenses, as far as outward force could do it; and what was left undone in this way was immediately taken up by the inquisition, more destructive than the war itself. By an ordonnance of the king of France, heretics condemned by the bishops of any place were to be punished without

delay. It was declared to be infamous, and punishable by confiscation of goods, to conceal them, and two silver marks were promised to any person who would apprehend one of them.

One castle, however, Montsegur in the diocese of Thoulouse, afforded a retreat for some of the Albigenes, and was looked upon to be impregnable. But in A. D. 1243 it was taken by Durand the bishop of Albi, and the seneschal of Carcassone; who finding in it two hundred persons who refused to recant, burned them all; and this was properly the last exploit in the war.

In A. D. 1249 this last count of Thoulouse died, the family being then extinct, which was considered by the catholics as a judgment for the protection they had given to the heretics. However a little before his death he had caused more than eighty heretics to be burned at Agen.

SECTION IX.

*Of the Progress of the Inquisition, and the State of  
Heresy in other Countries besides France.*

A MORE effectual engine for the extinction of heresy than open war, was the *court of inquisition* which was gradually introduced into a great part of Europe; but it was not till after this period of our history, that it was fully established, and the forms of proceeding in it settled; nor was it wholly independent of the temporal powers, as it afterwards came to be. It will be proper, however, to give an account of the progress that was made towards the establishment of this horrid tribunal, in the methods of proceeding against heretics during the course of the preceding war, and for some time subsequent to it.

At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, the most rigorous decrees were made against heretics, and all who favoured them, and also against those princes and lords who did not purge their estates of them.

In A. D. 1224 the emperor Frederic II published a severe constitution against heretics, engaging to execute the sentence of the church against

them. They who recanted thro' fear of death were to be imprisoned for life, and they who relapsed after recanting were to be put to death. The heretics were allowed no appeal from their sentence, and as in this ordonance it is said that, "this crime, which attacks God himself, is greater than that of high treason," the children of heretics to the third generation were to be excluded from all benefices temporal or spiritual, unless they informed against their parents. It was also ordered that the preaching friars, who were sent against the heretics, should be under the emperor's special protection. In a second constitution of the same emperor, the Paterins were condemned to the flames. \* In a third he copied four canons of the preceding council of Lateran, inserting temporal punishments instead of excommunication.

As it was probable that many persons did not care to inform against their neighbours, it was provided at the council of Narbonne in A. D. 1227, that in every parish the bishops should have synodal witnesses, whose business it should be to make inquiry concerning heresy, and report it. After this another council was held at Thoulouse, the

\* This F. Paul says was the first law that enjoined the punishment of heretics by death. *History of the Inquisition*, p. 10.

the object of which was the extirpation of heresy. Among other provisions that were here made for that purpose, all men above fourteen years of age, and women above twelve, were required to swear before a bishop, or his delegate, that they renounced all heresy, and that they would inquire after, and inform against, all heretics. This oath was to be renewed every two years. All persons also were required to come to confession, and receive the eucharist three times in every year; and if any persons did not do this, they were to be suspected of heresy. By a decree of the same council, laymen were not allowed to have any copy of the scriptures, but only a *psalter*, a *breviary*, and the *hours of the blessed virgin*, and these in Latin; which is the first instance of any prohibition of the kind.

The first persons who were commissioned to make this inquiry concerning heresy were two Dominicans, who conducted themselves with so much rigour in the condemnation of some heretics at Thoulouse, that they were obliged to leave the city, together with all of the same order, and the bishop himself. Afterwards, in order to moderate their violence, they had a colleague given them of the Franciscan order; but this not answering the purpose, orders were dispatched from Rome suspending this inquisition a long time.

However, the business of the extermination of heretics did not stop. In May 13th, A. D. 1239, one hundred and eighty-three heretics were burned at Monthemé in Champaign, in the presence of the king of Navarre, and the barons of the country, the archbishop of Rheims, and seventeen bishops. "It was," says Alberic, an author of that time, "a burnt offering well pleasing to God." Robert, a Dominican, who pronounced the condemnation of these heretics, was formerly one of them. He afterwards discovered many others; but at length, imposing upon the goodness of king Lewis, and abusing his authority as an inquisitor, accusing the innocent with the guilty, his commission was taken from him by the pope, and he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

It was not till the council of Beziers in A. D. 1246 that such regulations were made as served for a foundation for the proceedings of the inquisition afterwards. The preaching friars, or Dominicans, who were the inquisitors, were then ordered to make proclamation in certain places, for all heretics to come and make their submission for themselves, and inform against others within a limited time, under the penalty of death, perpetual imprisonment, exile, or confiscation of goods, according to circumstances; but those who being accused would not confess their faults, were to be  
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condemned without mercy, even tho' they submitted to the will of the church. At the same time it was ordered that all the prisoners should be confined separately; and that all the goods of prisoners were to be confiscated. At the same council it was decreed that none of the laity should have any books of divinity, not even in Latin, and the clergy none in the vulgar tongue.

At the request of Lewis IX of France, pope Alexander IV appointed two mendicant friars to be inquisitors for the kingdom of France, except the estates of the count of Thoulouse; but they were not to sentence to perpetual imprisonment, without the consent of the diocesan bishops. By a constitution of the same pope, addressed to the inquisitors of the mendicant orders, they were to demand of those heretics who returned to the church a pecuniary security that they would remain there. He also ordered that the goods of all heretics that were confiscated should be reserved for the use of the church of Rome.

It is evident that heretics abounded in the northern parts of Italy, almost as much as in the southern provinces of France, especially during the contests between the popes and the emperors of Germany, who always claimed that part of Italy. At Viterbo, in A. D. 1207, two of the consuls, and also the treasurer, who had long been in a state

of excommunication, were Patarins; but then pope Innocent III went to that city on purpose to drive them out. The citizens complied with his wishes, and having assembled a great council of bishops, abbots, counts, barons, &c. &c. from all the cities of Tuscany, and the estates of the church, he published a constitution, by which all heretics, especially the Patarins, who should be found in the patrimony of St. Peter, should have their goods confiscated; the houses which had received them were to be demolished, so as never to be rebuilt, and their adherents to be punished with the confiscation of the fourth part of their goods. It was also ordered that they should have no access to any court of justice, be incapable of any public employment, and be deprived of the rights of Christian burial.

In A. D. 1225 pope Honorius III complained that in the city of Bresse the heretics were so insolent, that they armed themselves against the Catholics, fortified some castles, and burned the churches. They even threw down lamps by way of excommunicating the church of Rome, and those who favoured its doctrines. He therefore ordered their castles to be demolished, so that they should not be rebuilt.

About the year A. D. 1250 Peter of Verona, who had been born of heretical parents, becoming  
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a Dominican, was peculiarly active in the discovery and prosecution of heretics in Italy. At Florence he engaged several of the nobility to take a standard marked with a cross, and coming to an engagement with a number of heretics, near the river Arno, he defeated them and drove them out of the city. This Peter Innocent IV made inquisitor for Cremona, Milan, and all that neighbourhood. But some time after this he was murdered by a person who afterwards entered into the order of the Dominicans himself. At this time, the contest with the emperors being over, the popes exerted themselves without obstruction for the suppression of heresy in Italy.

It was not till A. D. 1251 that the tribunal of the inquisition was fully established, when it was contrived by Innocent IV to take the cognizance of heresy out of the hands both of the bishops, and the civil magistrate, the bishop being associated with the inquisitor, but so as to have no real power, and the civil magistrates being allowed one third of the fines. The prisons were kept at the expense of the public. This court was first established in Lombardy, Romagna, and Marca Trevisana, which abounded with heretics, and where the popes had most power. The establishment of this court, however, met with much opposition, even

in Italy, and much more in other countries. *Giannone*, Vbl. 2. p. 60.

The bull of Innocent not being easily received, Alexander IV in A. D. 1259 renewed it, but with some modification. It was again renewed by Clement IV in A. D. 1265. But even then it was not fully executed, so that four succeeding popes were employed in overcoming the difficulties that prevented its being carried into effect. These arose from the excessive severity of the inquisitors, and the objections of the laity to bear the expence of this new tribunal. In order to remove these difficulties the pope gave more power to the bishops, and had the expence borne in some different manner. *F. Paul's History of the Inquisition*, p. 12.

The proceedings in this court were at first very simple, and resembled those of other tribunals; but they were afterwards intirely new modelled by the Dominicans, who were generally made inquisitors, and who knowing nothing of the common law, regulated all their proceedings according to the rules of *penance*, which were framed so as to correspond with the maxims of the government of God, to whom every sinner must confess his sin before he can expect to be forgiven. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. p. 116.

Besides the case of heresy, the inquisitors took cognisance of magic, forcery, witchcraft, and Judaism where it was not tolerated. *Ib.* p. 115.

## SECTION

SECTION X.

*Of the Intercourse between the Greek and Latin Churches.*

THE conquest of Constantinople by the Latins was as far from promoting any proper union of the two churches, as it was from being any assistance towards recovering the holy land. Insignificant as were the points in dispute between them, their antipathy to each other was great, and had now been of long standing. The war, or the consequences of it, had not contributed to lessen this animosity; and least of all on the side of Greeks, whose abhorrence of the Latins was much increased by the insolence and licentiousness of both the laity and clergy among them. They also despised them for their barbarous manners, and want of literature; and this effect continued after the cause was now in a great measure removed. For certainly, in this period, the Latin church produced more able and learned writers than the Greek; but the latter had no knowledge of them. Since, however, a desire on the part of the pope and the Latin clergy to derive a revenue from the East, and a desire of assistance on the part of the

Greek emperors, made both parties frequently wish for a compromise of their differences, and a good deal was done with a view to it, it will be proper to relate the particulars.

The first attempt that was made in this period to bring the two churches to greater union was occasioned by some friars visiting Germanus the Greek patriarch in A. D. 1233; and as John Ducas, the Greek emperor at Nice, was then in fear of an attack from the Latin emperor at Constantinople, and the crusaders, he favoured a conference between them for that purpose; and in consequence of this some letters passed between pope Gregory IX and Germanus, each vindicating his own church; and the next year two Dominicans and two Franciscans arriving at Nice, to treat concerning the union, they were honourably received, and entertained at the expence of the emperor.

After several days passed in formal conference, and much subtle disputation, about the procession of the Holy Spirit, the Greeks, being much surprised at the sentences of the Latins, and especially the manner and union of the Greek Fathers, desired to refer the matter to a regular council; and that if this could be achieved, the churches should reunite. On this proposal, the Greek emperor, unwilling to give up all expectation from the conference, with some secretly persuaded them to wait

wait for it. Accordingly it was fixed for Easter at Nympeum. In the whole of this previous conference the nuncios behaved with all the newly acquired haughtiness of the court of Rome, considering the Greeks as having, without any just reason, withdrawn themselves from their obedience to the pope, and requiring absolute submission to the doctrine and discipline of the Latins, in order to their reunion; while the Greeks, tho' in humiliating circumstances, could not help discovering their contempt for the Latins, and their antipathy to them. Even during the conferences a Greek priest laid a person under ecclesiastical censure for attending mass while it was celebrated by the Latins. All the indulgence the nuncios would allow the Greeks was that they should not be obliged publicly to chaunt the creed with the addition of the clause *filiogue*, tho' it was insisted that it should be inserted in it.

When the council was assembled, nothing passed in it but mutual accusations, at which the emperor expressed much concern; saying that, if they had met in his presence, the conference would have been conducted in a more amicable manner. Perceiving the impatience of the nuncios to return, he observed to them, that a schism which had continued now three hundred years could not be expected to be composed in a very short time,

reckoning from the patriarchate of Photius. They, therefore, met once more at the palace, the 28th of April. There the Greeks maintained that the eucharist could not be rightly celebrated with any other than leavened bread, such as they said our Saviour himself used. This opinion, at the requisition of the nuncios, they expressed in writing; and on the other hand, at the requisition of the Greeks, the nuncios expressed in writing their opinion, that, without believing that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, a person is in the way of perdition. The next day these writings were publicly delivered, and regularly signed. In that of the Greeks on the subject of the eucharist, their opinion only was expressed, without the authorities on which it was founded; but that of the nuncios on the subject of the creed was a treatise of some length. Having delivered this, the nuncios declared that the writing of the Greeks contained a heresy, and haughtily demanded to know whether it was thro' malice, or ignorance. This led to a dispute about the meaning of the word *απρος*, which the Greeks maintained must signify *bread completely made*, and of course with leaven; whereas the nuncios said it might signify *bread without leaven*; and that as, during the passover, the Jews were not allowed to have any leavened bread, our Saviour must have used

used that which was unleavened. Thus this whole day passed in mere wrangling.

Afterwards, the nuncios being in private conference with the emperor, he observed to them, that when princes had a difference, and wished to make peace, they relaxed a little on both sides, and therefore he proposed that, as there were two principal points of difference between the two churches, viz. that concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, and that concerning the bread used in the eucharist, the Greeks should give up the latter, and the Latins the former. But the nuncios having no idea of this kind of policy in matters of religion, replied, that the church of Rome would not give up one *iota* of its faith ; and therefore that, if the Greeks wished for an union, they must firmly believe themselves, and teach to others, that the body of our Saviour may be consecrated with unleavened bread, as well as leavened, and must, moreover, condemn and burn those of their books which contained a contrary doctrine. And that, with respect to the procession of the Holy Spirit, they must believe and teach the people that it is from the Son, as well as from the Father, tho' they should not be obliged to chaunt it in public ; but the books containing the contrary doctrine must be burned. At this arrogance the emperor was much offend-

offended, and when he reported this conversation to the Greek priests, they were no less so.

There was, however, another meeting, in order to conclude the business in some proper form. But this was conducted with the same pertinacious disputation, and ended with more ill humour than the preceding. The nuncios, after reciting the faith of the Greeks with respect to the eucharist, said, "This is heresy, and finding you heretics, and excommunicated, we leave you such." Having made this declaration, they left the council, the Greeks shouting after them, "You are the heretics." The emperor, however, was much mortified at this termination of the business.

The Greeks not being intirely satisfied with what they had delivered in writing, desired that the writings on both sides should be given up; but the nuncios said, they would leave theirs, wishing it to be made known to all the world as the faith of the Roman church, and that they would keep that of the Greeks, as an evidence of their heresy; but said, as we are in your power, you may do as you please. A public officer then signified to them, that they must give up the writings. They, therefore, took with them such books as they could carry, and set out on their journey on foot. But the Greeks sent after them, and searching their baggage, took away the writing they wished  
to



to withdraw, and in its place put another, containing a fuller explanation of their faith on the procession of the Holy Spirit. It was evident from the whole conduct of this business, that there was no disposition on the part of the Greeks to any union, and that the emperor only wished it for political purposes.

Many years after this, when the Greeks had recovered the possession of Constantinople, the emperor Michael Paleologus, being afraid of Charles king of Sicily, expressed a desire of the reunion of the two churches, acknowledging the supremacy of the pope; and Gregory X, who had much at heart the recovery of the holy land, and hoped that this union would contribute to it, was very desirous of promoting it. But the Greek patriarch and the clergy were not to be brought to accede to it; tho', knowing the situation and wishes of the emperor, they seemed to favour the project. The emperor, however, being determined to be obeyed, partly by intreaty, and partly by force, engaged almost all the bishops to subscribe a paper, in which they expressed their readiness to acknowledge the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the right of appeals to him, and that his name should be recited with those of other orthodox bishops at the eucharist.

Having

Having gained this point, the emperor sent ambassadors to the great council assembled at Lyons in A. D. 1274, where the pope himself was present, attended by five hundred bishops, seventy abbots, and a thousand other prelates, with James king of Arragon, and ambassadors from all the Christian courts in Europe. On the arrival of the Greek ambassadors at Lyons, which was the 24th of June, they were introduced to the pope; and in presenting the letters they brought, said, they were come to render obedience to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the faith which it held. In the public service which they attended the liturgy was recited both in Latin and Greek, and in reciting the creed the addition of *filioque* was repeated three times. In the fourth session, which was the 16th of July, the union of the two churches was solemnly announced by the pope, and the confession of faith, which had been sent by the Greek emperor (which was the same verbatim with that which had been sent by pope Clement IV in A. D. 1267) was read, with this addition, that he would persevere in that faith. He only requested that the Greeks might be permitted to recite the creed as they had been used to do it, and continue the same customs, which were not contrary to the decisions of general councils, or the traditions of the Fathers, and which had been approved by the church of Rome.

Rome. The letter of the Greek bishops, which was also read, mentioned the obstinacy of their patriarch in refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the church of Rome; but they added that, if he persisted in those sentiments, they would depose him, and chuse another who would be more compliant. At the return of those ambassadors, the patriarch Joseph not consenting to the union, he was deposed, and retired to a monastery; but this caused a new schism in the Greek church, and the two parties considered each other as excommunicated.

In A. D. 1277 there arrived at Rome ambassadors from the Greek emperor, and the new patriarch Veccas, expressing their joy in the union of the two churches, acknowledging in the fullest manner the supremacy of the pope, and his right to decide in all articles of faith. The patriarch in his letter recited all the distinguishing articles of the Roman church, but on the article of the procession of the Holy Spirit, he used many words, which was afterwards the occasion of a dispute among the Greeks on the subject. This patriarch also published an excommunication against those Greeks who did not accede to the union. This violence, however, had no good effect. The more intelligent of the schismatics were quiet, but they resolutely persisted in their opposition, and many of the lower people

people want to reside in places not subject to the emperor.

After the Greek ambassadors had left Rome, the pope sent four to Constantinople in A. D. 1578, and doubting the sincerity of the Greek clergy, he exhorted the patriarch to procure from every bishop a profession of his faith, an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the church of Rome, and an abjuration of the schism. The ambassadors were also desired to require of the emperor that he should insist upon the patriarch and other prelates sending a confession of their faith in the very same form with that which he himself had sent, and that the creed should be recited with the addition of *filioque*. Particular customs, to which the Greeks had been used were to be tolerated, provided they were not contrary to the faith, and the canons. The pope also desired to have the confessions of the faith of the Greek prelates to be publicly registered, and that they should apply to Rome to get absolved from the censures which they had incurred during the schism, and for a confirmation in their dignities; and also to have a cardinal legate to reside at Constantinople. The ambassadors were at the same time charged to get an exact knowledge of the real disposition of the Greeks, and a positive answer to all his demands.

But

But in the East things were by no means in so favourable a situation as the pope wished. The Greeks in general, and even the emperor's own relations, were so much offended at his submission to the pope, that they revolted from him, calling him the pope's patriarch, and all who joined him heretics. Thus the two parties being at open variance excommunicated one another. The disaffected party invited Alexis Comnenus, who had established himself at Trebifonde on the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, to assume the title of emperor, promising to join him, which they did.

In the mean time the emperor, in order to gain the Greek bishops, assured them that he would not swerve an iota from their faith or their customs, and least of all with respect to the creed, but that in his circumstances it was necessary for him to temporize with the Latins.

In answer to the demand of the pope to send a great number of subscriptions to the particular confession of faith required of the Greek clergy, many were sent; but they were all in the same handwriting, and still the expressions concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit were not clear, but such as left the question undecided.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, the emperor was obliged to have recourse to very cruel and harsh measures in order to enforce the union,

and these rendered him very unpopular. Besides, it appearing to the court of Rome that he was not able to carry his point, and even that he himself was not sincere in it, his next ambassador to pope Martin IV was very ill received, and at the solicitation of Charles king of Sicily he was himself excommunicated in A. D. 1281, as a promoter of the antient schism and heresy of the Greeks. Michael did not long survive these proceedings against him, dying in A. D. 1282, and his son Andronicus, who succeeded him, thought so ill of his conduct in promoting the union, that he did not allow him the rites of Christian burial.

The members of the proper Greek church being now the masters, they summoned a council to meet in A. D. 1283, and then they condemned and burned the writings of Veccas in favour of the union. He was banished to Prusa in Bythia, and afterwards almost all the bishops who had favoured the union were deposed.

The year following the two parties in the Greek church, in the interest of the two patriarchs, agreed to draw up in writing their several pretensions, and throw them into a fire at the same time; persuaded that, if either of them should not be burned, that party had the sanction of heaven, but if both were burned, they promised to unite. This taking place, they did unite, but afterwards repenting of this agree-

agreement, the difference was resumed. The emperor was very desirous of promoting peace, and for that purpose he summoned a council in which Veccas was heard ; but it produced nothing besides altercation about the terms in which the procession of the Holy Spirit should be expressed, and at the termination of it Veccas was remanded to his place of banishment.

Still the Greeks suffered much by factions among themselves, and several patriarchs of Constantinople were appointed and displaced. The chief cause of their contentions, the particulars of which would not now be at all interesting or instructive, was an attempt of the patriarch Gregory of Cyprus to explain what John of Damascus had advanced concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, in a work which, for the sake of peace, he afterwards retracted; but the difference had no very material consequence.

## SECTION XI.

*Of the State of Infidelity, and various Heresies  
in this Period.*

**T**HIS being an age of much and subtle speculation, at the same time that the abuses of the church of Rome were glaring and enormous, we cannot wonder that the reason of many persons should revolt at them, and that many should begin to suspect that the whole system of Christianity had its origin in imposture, and had no other object than the emolument of the clergy. The rise of this infidelity, as far as we are able to trace it, was from the writings of Averroes, a Spaniard, a man of great genius, who wrote commentaries on Aristotle, and pretended to find authorities for his opinions in his writings.

As far as we can collect the outline of this system from the various condemnations of it, the disciples of Averroes held that the world was eternal, creation out of nothing being impossible, that intellect is one principle, diffused thro' all intelligent beings, and consequently that all separate consciousness ceases at death, which was a fundamental principle in the antient Greek philosophy, derived  
from



from the East; and that all the motions of the intellectual principle are virtuous. Since all sin arises from the affections of the inferior part of man, they seem to have made light of some actions that have been so denominated, especially as it was their opinion that all the actions of men were necessary, being determined by, or connected with, the motion of the stars and other heavenly bodies. Considering the whole system of things as a chain of causes and effects, which has subsisted unchangeably from all eternity, they probably considered all deviations from it by miracles to be impossible, and the accounts of them incredible, unworthy of examination.

In A. D. 1270 the following opinions were condemned by Tempier bishop of Paris, "The understanding is the same in all men. The will of man acts by necessity. Every thing below is governed by the celestial bodies. The world is eternal. There was no first man. The soul is formed of matter, and decays with the body. God knows nothing but himself. The actions of men are not conducted by divine providence. God cannot give incorruptibility and immortality to that which is corruptible and mortal." *Fleury*, Vol. 18. p. 137. Many of these questions were discussed, and the opinions refuted by T. Aquinas.

Such were, or seem to have been, the prevailing opinions of those who were generally called *philosophers* in this period, and in the time of Petrarch, who met with many of them at Venice, and in other parts of Italy. At the same time these philosophers made no scruple of declaring their belief of all the doctrines of the church of Rome, and conforming to its discipline; saying, when they were interrogated, that, tho' the principles above mentioned were true in philosophy, they were false in theology; so that there were no martyrs to them. However, the tendency of this system of philosophy to overturn that of theology was so evident, that it could not pass unnoticed by those who were interested in its support, and the first censures that we meet with of it were from the university of Paris, which was the great school of divinity in those times.

In A. D. 1276 the university of Paris made a decree, that nothing but grammar and logic should be taught in private; and the reason given for it was, that many errors had been introduced among the students, derived from the writings of heathens, which they said were true according to philosophy, meaning that of Aristotle, but not according to the Catholic faith. In enumerating the opinions they condemned, they mention the following:  
“ In God there is no trinity. God cannot engender  
“ his

" his like. God knows nothing but himself. He  
 " cannot make any more souls. He cannot make  
 " a man without a proper agent, that is, another  
 " man. He cannot know future contingencies, or  
 " particular things. He cannot produce any  
 " thing from nothing, or any thing otherwise than  
 " it is, because there are not in him different wills.  
 " The human intellect is eternal. When separated  
 " from the body, it cannot suffer by fire. Intel-  
 " lect is one in all men. The soul is inseparable  
 " from the body, and dies with it. The will and  
 " the intellect do not move of themselves, but by  
 " the influence of the stars. The will is determined  
 " by desirable good, as matter by an agent. The  
 " world is eternal, because there cannot be novel-  
 " ty in the effect without novelty in the cause. To  
 " suppose the world not to have been eternal is to  
 " suppose a vacuum, since empty space must di-  
 " vide the things to be put into it," and it was a re-  
 " ceived axiom, that nature abhorred a vacuum.  
 " The universe can never end, because the first  
 " agent must eternally make matter pass from one  
 " form to another. The celestial bodies are moved  
 " by an internal principle, which is a soul. Divers  
 " signs in the heavens indicate the different dispo-  
 " sitions of men, and by these signs the intentions  
 " of men, and the events of their lives, may be  
 " known. Theological discourses are founded on

“ fables, and men are not wiser for knowing them.  
 “ There is no occasion to pray, or to be concerned  
 “ about confession, or the rites of burial, except  
 “ for appearance. Simple fornication is no sin.  
 “ The resurrection is impossible. Our happiness  
 “ is in this life.” *Flcury*, Vol. 18. p. 230.

Religion was not, however, without advocates in this early period of infidelity. Bernard Moneta, who wrote against the Cathari and Waldenses, also wrote with great ability against the unbelievers. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. p. 13.

It was the study of the works of Aristotle to which these opinions were generally ascribed. From the same source it was also thought that the doctrines of Amalric, or Amauri, a professor of logic and theology at Paris about A.D. 1210, were derived. It is certain, says Mosheim (Vol. 3. p. 129.) that he taught that all things were the parts of one substance, or in other words, that the universe was God, and that not only the forms of all things, but also their matter, or substance, proceeded from the deity, and must return to the source from which they were derived. From these principles he deduced a system of devotion, pretending to demonstrate the possibility of incorporating or translating the human nature into the divine, and rejected all kinds of external worship as insignificant and useless. His disciples, he says, were men of  
 exem-

exemplary piety, distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their lives, and suffered death in the most dreadful forms with the utmost constancy.

The opinion of the origin of all things from God I have observed to have been a principle in the oriental philosophy, and that of the union of souls to God by abstract meditation was held by the later Platonists, and has been adopted with some modifications by many persons of a speculative and devotional turn in all ages of Christianity, and by some of the zealous members of the church of Rome, as we shall see hereafter. But these exalted ideas of devotion, which rendered external forms of less value, were naturally regarded with a jealous eye by the political and ruling Catholics.

According to Fleury, Amauri held that, in order to be saved, every person must believe that he is a member of Jesus Christ, but that the pope condemning this opinion, he retracted it before his death. Fleury also ascribes to the followers of Amauri an opinion which is said to have taken its rise from a book entitled *the Everlasting Gospel*, viz. that Jesus Christ abolished the old law, and that, in his time commenced the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, in which confession, baptism, the eucharist, and other sacraments, would have no place; but that persons might be saved by the interior grace of the Holy Spirit, without any external

nal acts. He moreover says, that he denied the resurrection, said that heaven and hell were in men's own breasts, that the pope was Antichrist, and Rome Babylon. His disciples had among them a prophet named *William*, a silver smith, who gave out that four great plagues would come in five years. Being examined in a council of bishops and doctors of theology, they were condemned, and burned alive, except four, who were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. At the same time they condemned the memory of Amauri, who was considered as the founder of the sect; and being excommunicated after his death A. D. 1209, his bones were dug up, and thrown upon a dunghill.

Amauri, Mosheim says, entertained the sentiments of those who were called the *brethren and sisters of the free spirit*, and they were sometimes called *Beghards*. They frequently ran about with an air of lunacy and distraction, begging their bread with much clamour, rejecting labour, as inconsistent with that contemplation which they supposed united the soul to God; in consequence of which they said they enjoyed a state of freedom from all laws, and had the same union with God that Christ himself had. For they were said to hold that all rational souls are portions of the divinity. But among them there were many persons of eminent piety, often called *mystics*, who only  
thought

thought themselves exempt from the forms of external worship, and the positive laws of the church; tho' others of them are said to have abandoned all decency, and to have lived in sensual indulgence, as not affecting the purity of the soul. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. p. 124. 129.

At the same time also, Aristotle's treatise of metaphysics being supposed to have led men into these errors, the council ordered all his works to be burned, and forbade the transcribing them, reading them, or keeping copies of them, under pain of excommunication. As to his books of natural philosophy, the reading of them was forbidden for three years; but they forbade for ever the reading of the books of one David Dinant, an eminent disciple of Amauri, who saved himself by flight. The council also condemned all French books of theology. This is said in the notes to *Mosheim* to have been done at a council at Paris in A. D. 1210. Vol. 3. p. 23.

In this period much attention was excited to a book entitled, as I have observed, *the Everlasting Gospel*, ascribed, but without reason, to Joachim of Calabria, who died in A. D. 1202, and was considered as a saint in his own country. He wrote commentaries on the prophetic books of scripture with conjectures about the speedy accomplishment of some of them. According to this treatise, who-  
ever

ever was the author of it, the Father operated from the creation to the coming of Christ, as he said, *My Father worketh hitherto, and now I work*, but at the expiration of the thousand two hundred and sixty years, mentioned in the Revelation, the Holy Spirit is to operate, who was to come, and lead men into all truth. They also said, that the first dispensation was to consist of married persons, living according to the flesh as under the old testament, that the reign of the Son was to be that of priests, living according to the flesh and spirit, some being married; but that the third dispensation would be that of monks, living according to the spirit only. The first was the age of the old testament, the second that of the new, and the third that of the Everlasting Gospel, in which there was no occasion for sacraments, or visible signs. These principles having spread very much, chiefly by means of the Franciscans, who flattered themselves that their institute was the third, and most perfect state of Christianity; they were condemned in a council held at Arles in A. D. 1260.

There was another book entitled *An Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*, ascribed with great probability to John of Parma, a general of the Franciscans, who explained the obscure predictions of the former work, and applied them to his own order. *Mogartm*, Vol. 3. p. 67. The principles of these



these books began to be publicly taught in A. D. 1254; but in A. D. 1256 pope Alexander IV, tho' a great favourer of the Franciscans, could not help condemning them, and the books were burned though privately, at the same time that he made some decrees in favour of that order.

Those who distinguished themselves the most by the acuteness of their speculations, and nice distinctions, were the mendicants. The clergy, who never liked them, and who wished to have all study confined to the scriptures, the antient Fathers, and the canons, took umbrage at the liberty they took in speculation, and thought the opinions they adopted sometimes bordered on heresy. To give some idea of the questions they agitated, and the opinions then formed, I shall select the following, which were condemned in an assembly of the clergy at Paris in A. D. 1243. "The divine essence cannot itself be viewed either by glorified men or by angels. Tho' the divine essence is the same in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nevertheless with respect to *form*, it is not the same in the Holy Spirit as in the Father and the Son taken together. The Holy Spirit, as he is love, or a bond of union, doth not proceed from the Son, but from the Father only. Neither bodies nor souls in a state of glory, not even the blessed virgin, will be in the empyreal heaven along with  
" the

" the angels, but in the aqueous or crystalline  
 " heaven, above the firmament. The wicked an-  
 " gels were so from the instant of their creation.  
 " There are several truths which have been from  
 " eternity, and yet are not God. An angel may  
 " be at the same moment in different places, and  
 " even every where, if he chuse it. The first in-  
 " stant of time, the beginning, and also creation  
 " and passion, are neither creature nor creator.  
 " The wicked angel has never had wherewith to  
 " support himself, any more than Adam, in a state  
 " of innocence. He who has the best natural dispo-  
 " sitions will necessarily have most grace and glo-  
 " ry." *Fleury*, Vol. 17. p. 265.

In *A. D.* 1278 some opinions of Roger Bacon,  
 an English Franciscan (but what they were are not  
 specified) were condemned by the legate of pope  
 Nicolas III at Paris, and he was committed to pri-  
 son, where he lived ten years; but obtaining his  
 liberty, he spent the remainder of his life in peace,  
 in the college of his order at Oxford, and died in *A.*  
*D.* 1294. He was indefatigable in his pursuit of  
 knowledge, and seems to have been master of all  
 that was known in his time, especially in mathe-  
 matics and philosophy. It is probable that he  
 either discovered, or had learned, the composition  
 of gunpowder, and was acquainted with many  
 wonderful discoveries in optics, mathematics, and  
 chemistry.

Peter

Peter Lombard, having said that there was a distinction between the *divine essence*, and the three persons in the Godhead, the abbot Joachim denied that there was any essence common to them ; by which it was said that that which constitutes their union was taken away. On this account his opinions were condemned by Innocent III in the council of Lateran in A. D. 1205, but without any reflection upon Joachim himself. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. P. 134.

At a council held in London in A. D. 1286, the following opinion among others of a similar nature was condemned. " The sacramental bread " is changed into the living body of Jesus Christ, " so that the matter of the bread is changed into " the matter of the body, and the form of the bread " is the form of the body, which is the reasonable " soul." It is possible, however, that these, and other opinions, might have passed without censure, if the espousers of them had not maintained that, " with respect to them, they were not obliged to " yield to the authority of the pope, of St. Gregory, or St. Austin, or any doctor whatever, but " only the authority of the Bible, and demonstrative " reason." However Fleury says the principle on which all the opinions hinged was that the reasonable soul is the substantial form of man, a principle, he says, advanced by Thomas Aquinas.

I would

I would observe in this place, that the term *transubstantiation* is first used in any instrument of authority in the canons of the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215.

The last of the curious opinions that I shall recite as occurring within this period, is that, at the same council it was mentioned as a thing allowed by all, that the virgin Mary was taken up into heaven in the body; since Gilbert of Nogent says that, in his time, which was a century before, the church did not assert it, but that persons were allowed to be of that opinion. *Fleury*, Vol. 16. p. 256.

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## SECTION XII.

*Some Particulars concerning the Superstition, and fabulous Histories of this Period.*

IF I had thought proper, I might have given my readers abundant entertainment on the subject of this section in every period of this history; but I confine myself to such narratives as serve to give what ought not to be omitted, viz. a just idea of the state of prevailing opinions and practices, which cannot fail to be instructive. We may often perceive the best dispositions and intentions in the  
most

most wild and absurd practices ; but to form a just estimate of them we must take into consideration the prevailing principles and maxims of the times. The first account I shall give will be that of the *Flagellants*.

In A. D. 1259, Italy being in a state of great distraction, a spirit of devotion seized a great number of persons in a very sudden and extraordinary manner, but probably arose from the preaching of the mendicants, who, in imitation of John the Baptist, and Jesus Christ, called upon all men to *repent*. It began at Perugia, whence it passed to Rome, and the rest of Italy. Old and young, even children of five years of age, went thro' the country, as naked as decency would permit, two and two, whipping themselves with leathern thongs, till the blood flowed out, with groans and tears imploring the mercy of God, and the assistance of the blessed virgin. They made these processions even in the night, with lighted torches, and also in the winter, by hundreds and thousands, preceded by priests with crosses and banners. Wherever they came they went into the churches, and prostrated themselves before the altars. They did the same both in the villages and the towns, so that the mountains and plains echoed with their cries. Their devotion did not, however, terminate here. Enemies were reconciled, usurers and thieves

restored what they had unjustly taken, other sinners confessed their crimes and reformed. and good works of all kinds were performed; and in this we see the difference between Christian and heathen superstition, the latter having no connection whatever with moral virtue.

This practice, it was observed, did not arise from any order of a pope, or the recommendation of any person of particular eminence, but began with the common people, and others followed their example. It extended to Germany, Poland, and many other countries. Their custom was to whip themselves every day for thirty-three days together, because Christ, they thought, lived so many years upon earth; and they sung hymns concerning his death and passion. No person, they said, could be absolved from their sins if they did not perform this penance, at least one month, and they confessed to one another, and gave formal absolution, tho' they were laymen. They even pretended that this practice was useful to the dead. This company of Flagellants, as they were called, at length gave alarm to several princes, so that they were suppressed by force; and in a short time the practice ceased. But we shall find it renewed in a later period.

Perhaps the person the most distinguished for his habitual devotion in this period was Lewis IX  
king

king of France, if we may depend upon the account of his confessor and chaplain, both Dominicans. Every day he heard the canonical mass, even the *hours of the virgin*, with the *chaunt*. If he was travelling on horseback, he contented himself with reciting it along with his chaplain. Every day, also, he recited the office of the dead at nine lessons, even on the most solemn festivals. He never failed to hear two masses every day, and sometimes three or four. He was fond of hearing sermons, and when they pleased him, he retained them in memory, and repeated them to others. Having heard that some of his lords complained of his hearing so many masses and sermons, he said, "If I had spent twice as much time in playing at dice, or hunting, no body would have spoken of it."

It was his custom for some time to rise at midnight, to assist at the matins which were chaunted in his chapel, and at his return to have leisure to pray by his bed side, saying, "if God should then give me any pious motion I am not afraid of being interrupted." But this exercise weakening him too much, he was persuaded to omit it. After supper *complines* were solemnly chaunted in his chapel, and when he retired to his chamber, a priest came and sprinkled the room, and especially the bed, with holy water. With the consent of

the queen, he abstained from any matrimonial intercourse, according to the antient custom of the church, during the whole of advent and lent, also on certain days in the week, on the vigils and grand festiva's; and when he was to receive the communion he abstained several days before and after the service. His abstinence with respect to food was very great. He fasted every friday, he ate no flesh meat on wednesdays, and for some time on mondays also, till on account of his weakness he was advised to omit it. On fridays in lent and advent he ate neither fruit nor fish. On holy friday he fasted on bread and water, and also on the vigils and principal festivals of the virgin, and some other days in the year. He confessed every friday, and after confession he always received the discipline at the hand of his confessor with five iron chains fastened to the bottom of a little ivory box, which he carried in his purse, and he sometimes made presents of such boxes to his children and particular friends. He wore haircloth on fridays in lent, advent, and at the vigils of the virgin, but by the advice of his confessor he left this off.

On good friday, after assisting at matins, which began at midnight, he returned to his chamber, where, either alone, or accompanied by a chaplain, he repeated the whole psalter. Then, without  
going



going to bed, or sleeping any more, he went out at sunrise, barefooted, and meanly dressed, walked thro' the most frequented streets, on the pavement and in the dirt. He went into the churches, and prayed in them, followed by an almoner, who gave liberally to the poor. After his return, tho' generally much fatigued, he heard the sermon of the passion, then he assisted at the office, which was celebrated in a solemn manner; and when he came to the adoration of the cross, he rose from his place, bareheaded, and barefooted, and meanly dressed, and went a good distance on his knees, followed by his children, with such marks of humility, that those who were present shed tears. The service being over, he took a slight repast of bread and water.

On holy thursday he washed the feet of some poor people, and those of three poor old men every saturday. After this I need not mention his alms, and benefactions of every kind, especially his liberality to the mendicants. When the expence attending these things was complained of, he said, "Since I must be at some expence, I had rather do it for God, than for the world, and vanity, and thus balance the excessive expences that are unavoidable in temporal things." Can we doubt the real piety and virtue of this man, even tho' he was a persecutor of heretics, and would

without remorse have shed the blood of all the infidels in the East. He would, however, have received more pleasure from their conversion. When this prince was dangerously ill in A. D. 1244, they brought out the relicks of the martyrs belonging to the church of St. Denis, placed them on altar, carried them in procession thro' the church, and the cloisters, walking barefoot, and shedding many tears; and from that time it was observed that he began to recover. *Fleury*, Vol. 17. p. 289.

The history of the conveyance of what was supposed to be the *crown of thorns*, that was put on the head of Jesus, from Constantinople to France, in A. D. 1247, will serve to give an idea of the spirit of the times, as well as of the religion of this particular prince. The probability is that the crown that was really put on the head of our Saviour was not of thorns, but of the herb *acanthus*, the intention of the soldiers, in this as well as in putting on him the purple robe, having been to mock, and not to torture him; and none of the antients speak of this as painful to him. In after times, however, it was supposed that this crown was of real thorns, and being thought to have been actually found, as well as the cross, and every thing else belonging to the crucifixion, it was kept at Constantinople; and when that city was taken by the Latins, it was considered as one of the most valuable

valuable articles found in the place. This crown, the lords, being much in debt, had pawned to the Venetians for a large sum; but the emperor Baldwin, willing to lay on obligation on Lewis, to whom he had pawned the county of Namur, proposed to make a present of it to the king. Accordingly two Dominicans were sent to receive the sacred deposit, and the box in which it was contained was delivered to them, carefully sealed; and tho' those who had the care of it put to sea in the most dangerous season, and the Greek emperor lay in wait to intercept them, they arrived without any accident at Venice. The king and the emperor Baldwin then sent ambassadors to Venice, with money to redeem the sacred pledge, and other precautions were taken for the safe conveyance of it; and it was observed that during their journey, tho' they had heavy rains in the night, not one drop fell upon them, while they were on the road. When they were arrived at Troyes in Champagne, they sent to inform the king, who immediately set out, accompanied with the queen mother, his brothers, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Auxerre, and some other lords, and met the relick at Villeneuve.

Having opened the outer box of wood, and verified the seals of the French lords and the doge of Venice, which were fixed to a case of silver,

they opened that, and in it found another of gold, which contained the sacred crown. This being shewn to the king and his suite, they shed many tears, imagining they saw Christ himself crowned with thorns. This was St. Lawrence's day. The next day, August 8, it was carried to Sens, and at the gates of the city the king, and Robert count of Artois, the eldest of his brothers, took it on their shoulders, both of them being barefooted, and in their shirts, and carried it to the metropolitan church of St. Stephen, in the midst of all the clergy of the city, who came in solemn procession to meet them.

The next day the king set out for Paris, and the eighth day after he arrived there, and near the abbey of St. Anthony a scaffold was prepared on which were many prelates in their robes, and from this the box was shewn to the people. Then the king and the count of Artois, barefooted, and in their shirts, carried it on their shoulders to the cathedral church of Notre Dame, and thence to the palace, when it was placed in the royal chapel.

But some years after this, the king having received from Constantinople a considerable part of the true cross, and several other relicks, built another chapel of the richest and most elegant architecture then known, and there founded a chapter to recite the office before these holy relicks.

The

The church of Paris celebrates the festival of the reception of this holy crown on the 11th of August, and the history of it was then written by Gautier archbishop of Sens. *Fleury*, Vol. 17. p. 200.

The history of the reception of some of the blood of Christ by king Henry III of England is as curious as the preceding. This prince wrote to all his lords to meet him in London the 13th of October A. D. 1247, to hear "the pleasing news of a new favour that God had granted them." Accordingly they met at Westminster on the day appointed, when they were informed that the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers had sent them a portion of the blood of our Saviour, in a very antient crystal vase, with the attestation of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and that of the bishops, abbots and lords of the holy land. On this occasion the king, desirous of imitating what St. Lewis had done to honour the true cross, fasted on bread and water the eve of the festival, which was that of the translation of St. Edward; and on that day he carried the relick in solemn procession from the cathedral church of St. Paul to that of St. Peter at Westminster, where it was deposited. The bishop of Norwich then performed mass, and delivered a sermon, in which he said that this relick was more precious than any other, even that of the true cross, which was only valuable on account of this blood

that was shed upon it. He then declared, in the name of all the prelates, that six years and one hundred and forty days indulgence would be granted to those who would honour the precious blood.

Some, however, who were present expressed their doubt of the reality of the relick. To this the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grossthead, answered in a discourse, in which he said, tho' on the authority of a book which he owned to be apocryphal, that Joseph of Arimathia, when he loosed the body of Christ from the cross, carefully gattered up the blood from his wounds, and especially that from his side, and even the water with which he washed the body; that he gave part of it to Nicodemus, who had assisted him in conveying the body to the sepulchre, and that thus this treasure had been preserved from father to son till it came into the possession of the patriarch Robert, who then held the see of Jerusalem.

To this fabulous relation I shall add another, computed in this period, by Bonaventure, from apocryphal writings, as Fleury says, which then passed for true, or revelations not much to be depended on, of the delivery of the virgin Mary, which is as follows. When her hour was come, which was tender at midnight, the virgin got up, and leaned against a pillar, while Joseph was first concerned that he could not provide what

was

was required in her circumstances. However he rose, and taking some hay from the manger, laid it at her feet; and then as he was looking another way, the Son of God came out of the womb of the virgin, without giving her any pain, and lay on the hay that was at her feet. She then took him up, embraced him tenderly, placed him on her knees, and washed him with her milk which flowed from her in great abundance, then wrapped him in a vail, which she took from her head, and placed him in the manger. After this an ox and an ass, falling on their knees, put their mouths to the manger, and breathed on the child, to warm him, as if they had known who he was. The mother then fell on her knees, and adored him, giving thanks to God, and Joseph did the same. Bonaventure said he had these particulars from a friar of his order, to whom the virgin herself had revealed them. *Fleury*, Vol. 18. p. 122.

I shall close this section with an account of an instance of superstition in the Greeks. On February A. D. 1284 a Greek priest found the consecrated bread which had by accident been left in the place where it was kept from the last year, then quite corrupted, and not having the appearance of bread. On seeing this he was terrified, and trembled; and consulting with those who were present, they agreed to throw it into what they called

called the *sacred furnace*, and which Fleury says the Latins call *piscina*. Vol. 18. p. 366.

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### SECTION XIII.

#### *Of the Jews in this Period.*

**I**N this, as in the preceding period, the Jews were exposed to much and various ill usage. At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, they were required to wear a badge, to distinguish them from Christians. In A. D. 1234 the kingdom of Hungary was laid under an interdict for admitting Jews as well as Mahometans into public employments, and having Christian slaves; and it was not taken off till the king and his son engaged to allow of that abuse no longer; but, says the historian, it was ill observed.

In A. D. 1236 there was a great carnage made of the Jews in many places, especially in Spain. In France the crusaders against the Albigenes killed them in great numbers, without sparing children or women with child; many were trampled to death by horses, and their bodies exposed to the beasts. Their books were burned, their goods plundered, and great mischiefs were threatened  
because



because they refused to be baptized. On this occasion the Jews applied to the pope, who wrote in their favour; saying that, no person should be compelled to receive baptism; that as man fell by his free will, he ought to recover by the same means, with the assistance of grace. He also wrote to the king, desiring that he would restrain those cruelties.

John king of England harassed the Jews with the most grievous exactions, applying corporal punishment when they refused to give him money. It is said that he demanded of a Jew of Bristol a thousand marks of silver, and on his refusal to pay, he ordered a tooth to be drawn every day till he should pay, and this, it is said, he bore till he had lost seven of them. The historian Trivet says that he confiscated the property of all the Jews in his kingdom, and banished them by a public edict. *Baynne*, Vol. 9. p. 619.

The crusades furnished Henry III. of England with a pretence for taking from the Jews what remained of their property from former exactions. Having demanded eight thousand marks, they represented to him that, being unable to raise that sum, they wished to leave the kingdom. This provoked him so much that he sold them to his brother Richard, who advanced a large sum on that account. But when it was expected that he would

would have reimbursed himself by exacting twice as much, he was so moved by the representation of their poverty and distress, that he forbore to do it.

In A. D. 1239 the Jews of Norwich being accused of intending to murder a Christian child, they were all apprehended, and four of them were torn in pieces by horses, and their limbs exposed on a gibbet. *Baynage*, Vol. 9. p. 621.

The Jews of Lincoln being accused of the same crime, eighteen of the richest of them were put to death, at the solicitation of the mother. *Ib.* Vol. 9. p. 634. At length, however, giving the king a sum of money they obtained a proclamation forbidding to use them ill. *Flury*, Vol. 17. p. 129.

After the death of the king, the nation being visited with the plague, it was said to be owing to the indulgence shewn to the Jews; and after pretending to give them liberty to chuse which religion they preferred, all that did not adopt the Christian were put to death. Tho' there is something that has the air of fable in the circumstances of this story, as related by the monkish historians, it is certain that the Jews were banished the kingdom by Edward III, who allowed them to go to France, but confiscated their property. Their number in England was then very great, and they did not obtain leave to return till the time of Cromwell.

In

In A. D. 1238, a converted Jew informing the pope concerning the Talmud, as the principal cause of keeping his brethren true to their religion, orders were given that in all Christian countries the Jews should deliver up their books, and that those of them that contained any errors should be burned. In consequence of this, and the examination of some of them, twenty cart loads were burned in France, in the presence of the university, the clergy, and the people of Paris. Many Christians at this time were able to read Hebrew. Besides those in France, mention is made by Matthew Paris of Robert Arundel, probably an Englishman, as well skilled in that language.

In A. D. 1247, pope Innocent IV wrote to the bishops of Germany in favour of the Jews, who were cruelly treated, and sometimes put to death, on pretence that they had killed the children of Christians, eaten their hearts, and been guilty of other crimes, of which they were innocent, desiring that their wrongs might be redressed, and that they should not be condemned without reason.

In A. D. 1248, John duke of Tuscany, at the request of the bishops and lords, drove all the Jews from his territories.

At the council of Vienne in A. D. 1267, the Jews were required to wear a cap of horn, to pay

tythes to the curé, and all other duties that were exacted of the Christians who lodged with them.

In A. D. 1291 it was said that a Jew at Paris, getting possession of a consecrated wafer, pricked it with a penknife; that on this blood came out of it, and that, tho' he abused it in various ways, it always shewed marks of sensibility; that at length it took its place on a crucifix, in the form of Christ upon the cross. The consequence of this ridiculous notion was very serious. For the Jew was apprehended, and burned, and the people called the house in which this scene was supposed to have been transacted, the *house of miracles*, and a chapel was afterwards built on the spot.

Notwithstanding the great odium under which the Jews generally lay, there is abundant evidence, that in some of the southern parts of France, the common people were prejudiced in their favour, and leaned to their rites. In Provence, and the neighbouring places, the intercourse with the Jews had introduced many superstitious practices. Many persons in their illnesses held lamps and lighted candles in the synagogues, and made offerings there, to procure good journeys, and safe deliveries for women with child; and they shewed the same respect that the Jews did to the book of the law, which Christians in general considered as a kind of idolatry. The pope, to put a stop to these abuses,

wrote

wrote to the Franciscans, who exercised the office of inquisitors in that part of the country, to proceed against those who were guilty of those things, as against idolatry and heresy. This letter is dated February 20th, A. D. 1290.

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## SECTION XIV.

### *Miscellaneous Articles,*

**L**ITTLE was done in this period towards extending the bounds of Christendom, and that little not very solid. In A. D. 1255 a great army of German crusaders, about sixty thousand, attacked that part of Prussia which continued Pagan, and killing all who refused to be baptized, reduced the whole to the profession of Christianity. In the same year, Mondag, whom the pope on his profession of Christianity had made king of Lithuania, turned his arms against the Christians, so that there was nothing, as the historian says, in his conversion, and his successors continued heathen one hundred and thirty years after.

This was an age in which much attention was given to *literature*, and which produced many eminent men. At the council of Lateran in A. D.

1215, an order given in a council of A. D. 1179 under Alexander III, mentioned in the preceding section, that in every cathedral church there should be a master, who should teach gratis, but which had not been observed. was confirmed. He was to teach not only grammar, but any branch of science that he was capable of teaching, and in every metropolitan church, there was to be a theologian to teach the priests the holy scriptures, and what related to the care of souls, each of these masters was to have the salary of a prebend, as long as he taught, but without becoming a canon.

Frederic II was well versed in the Latin, Greek, and Arabic languages, besides Italian and French, his native tongue being the German. He composed poems in Italian. He was a great promoter of literature in his dominions, especially by the establishment of an university at Naples, and procuring many books to be translated from Arabic into Latin. *Giannone*, Vol. 1. p. 729. Also Alphonsus king of Castile and Leon distinguished himself both by his own attainments in literature, and his zeal in promoting it. He is particularly famous for his astronomical tables. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. P. 17.

Lewis IX hearing, when he was in Palestine, of a Mahometan prince getting all useful books transcribed for the use of learned men, did the same  
on

on his return to France, especially all books relating to religion, and from them Vincent de Beauvais composed his *Grand Mirror*, which was a collection of every thing that he thought useful to a student.

This was the period in which the Aristotelian philosophy was most triumphant, being taught in all the schools till its tendency to favour infidelity was perceived. It was particularly adopted by the Dominican and Franciscan friars, among whom the most distinguished teachers were Alexander Hales, a Franciscan and an Englishman, who taught at Paris, and obtained the title of the *irrefragable doctor*, Albert surnamed *the Great*, a Dominican and a German, bishop of Ratisbon, the dictator, as it were, of all literature in his time; but especially his disciple Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican likewise, and surnamed the *Angelic doctor*. In the pontificate of Clement IV, he composed his *Sum of theology*, which was considered in the schools as the most complete system for doctrine and method. It is indeed a wonderfully elaborate work.

The college for the study of divinity in Paris was erected and endowed in A. D. 1250 by Robert de Sorbonne, a friend and favourite of king Lewis, and it retained his name ever after. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. p. 19. In all the universities in this

period it was necessary to get into a shift examination before any person could be admitted to teach the sciences, and then arose the custom of giving astronomical degrees, as that of master and doctor, to all the *faradises*, as they were called; an institution which had its use in those times, while it might be fairly considered as a mark of real merit, but it is now no longer so, and therefore ought to be discontinued.

But the whole system of Aristotelian philosophy, as taught in these schools, was severely censured by Roger Bacon, Pierre de Abano, a physician of Padua, and other sensible men. The former, in one of his writings, says, "There never was such an appearance of learning, or so much time given to study, as in these last forty years."

- There are doctors in every city, county, and village, especially in the two orders of mendicants,
- but never was there so much ignorance and error.
- The generation of students passed their time,
- and then married, or had translations\* meaning from the Arabic.
- They are deceived in science, and not caring what they know, but only what they may seem to know, is the opinion of the former multitude.

*Abano. Op. p. 2. 26.*

Several things required to the reform relating to the discipline of the church, which deserve to be noticed.



At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, it was ordered, that every person should confess all his sins at least once a year, to his proper priest, discharge the penance enjoined him, and receive the eucharist at Easter, or be excommunicated, and deprived of Christian burial. Raimond de Pegnafert, general of the Dominicans, who died in A. D. 1274, published a sum of cases of conscience, for the use of confessors, which was the first work of this nature.

It appears from the decrees of the synod of Exeter in A. D. 1287, that after baptism children were confirmed, at least within three years. But it appears from the decrees of the council of Arles in A. D. 1260, that confirmation was given to children at the breast, as Fleury says they still did in many churches.

A superstitious respect for the elements of the eucharist appears in this period to have begun to take the cup from the laity. We find in the writings of Alexander Hales, who died in A. D. 1244, that in his time the laity commonly communicated with the bread only. At a council held at Lambeth in A. D. 1281, it is said that, in giving the communion, they informed the communicants, that what they received in the cup was only simple wine, to enable them to swallow with more easy the precious body; and in the inferior churches it

was permitted only to those who celebrated to take the precious blood; but in cathedral churches the communion was still administered in both kinds. At a council of Bourdeaux in A. D. 1255, it was ordered that infants, instead of the consecrated wafer, should only have *pain beni* given them, a remains, says Fleury, of the antient custom of giving the eucharist to children, which is still kept up in the Greek church.

The cup was not wholly laid aside till the council of Constance. *Bingham*, p. 789.

The use of wafers and unleavened bread were not known in the church till the eleventh or twelfth century, when the oblation of common bread began to be left off by the people. Then the clergy provided the elements themselves, and gradually brought it to a nice and delicate wafer, in the form of a *denarius*, to represent, they said, the pieces of money for which our Saviour was betrayed; and the people were ordered to offer a denarius, to be given to the poor, or to be applied to some sacred use. *Ib.* p. 737. &c.

The mendicants introduced the custom of keeping the consecrated elements for private persons to communicate out of the time of public service in the church. This is acknowledged to be a novelty, and against the rule of the Roman ritual,  
which

which orders the elements to be kept in the church only for the sick. *Bingham*, p. 782.

It was not till the twelfth century that the custom of communicating infants was discontinued in France. *Ib.* p. 776.

The *missa sicca* was the communion without the consecration of the elements. St. Lewis had this service performed in this manner on board his ships. It was sometimes called *missa nautica*, and was approved by Leo X. *Ib.* p. 772. &c.

*Missa bifaciata*, or *trifaciata*, &c. was when a priest, for the sake of getting the price of more masses than one in a day, recited the service several times, till he came to the words of consecration; which by using only once he made to serve for them all. *Ib.* p. 773.

In A. D. 1264 pope Urban instituted the festival of the *holy sacrament*, from a vision of one Juliana, a nun in the neighbourhood of Liege, where Urban had been archdeacon. It was to be celebrated the first thursday after the octave of Whitsuntide. This Juliana declared that whenever she prayed she had before her an image of the full moon with a fissure in it, and was informed by the Holy Spirit, that this fissure signified the want of this annual festival in the church which was represented by the moon. The office was composed by Thomas Aquinas.

Till the twelfth century the fast of lent was kept by abstaining from all food till evening. *Rings of ham*, Vol. 2. p. 347.

In this period we find the origin of indulgences. They began with the bishops, and were afterwards adopted by the popes. When the bishops wanted money they remitted the usual penances for certain sums to be applied to religious uses. This power of the bishops was restricted by the popes, and in time they appropriated it to themselves; and going far beyond what the bishops had ever done, pretended to release men from the penalties due to sin even in a future state. The great pretence for the papal indulgences was to promote the crusades, but it was afterwards extended to every purpose that the popes thought subservient to their views. *Mosheim*, Vol. 2. p. 420.

At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, superfluous indulgences granted by some bishops were forbidden, and it was ordered that, in the dedication of churches, the indulgence should not be for more than a year, whether the ceremony was performed by one bishop or more; and that for the anniversary of a dedication, or any other cause, the indulgence should not be for more than forty days.

By this time great abuses had been made of indulgences. They who preached the crusade in  
Ger-

Germany in A. D. 1225 advanced such things, says the historian, or encouraged persons in their crimes. For some of them said, "I will commit crimes; for on taking the cross I shall be innocent, and even make satisfaction for the crimes of others;" and some persons who had died impenitent, and had been buried in the high ways, were by this means taken up, and buried like Christians.

During the twelfth or the thirteenth century religious plays were introduced into churches, and these prepared the way for sacred oratorios. The first was a spiritual comedy in the church of Padua in A. D. 1243. About twenty years after was instituted at Rome the *fraternity of Gonfalone*, whose principal business was to represent the sufferings of Jesus in the passion week. The same subject was acted at Friuli in A. D. 1298, and near the Arno in A. D. 1304, when the people were entertained with the exhibition of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, a machine representing hell being fixed on boats for the purpose. *Williams*, p. 42. In A. D. 1322 the mysteries began to be exhibited in Germany. In A. D. 1378 is the first mention made of their exhibition in England. While these mysteries were in fashion, scarce any scripture history escaped being burlesqued in them. None of them were wholly without music. Hymns and

chorus's were introduced into all of them, and sometimes instrumental music was introduced between the acts. *Williams*, p. 43.

About A. D. 1290 Marinus Sanutus brought wind instruments into the church. *Bingham*, p. 314.

## PERIOD XX.

FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE CRUSADES A. D. 1291 TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE A. D. 1418.

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## SECTION I.

*Of the Power of the Popes, and the Opposition that was made to it.*

THE claims of the popes to power, temporal and spiritual, were much opposed in the course of this period of our history ; but they abated nothing of their arrogance, and on the whole, perhaps rather gained than lost ground. Neither their long residence at Avignon, nor the great schism which took place immediately after it, tho' seemingly very hazardous for them, were of any material disservice. The eyes of princes and others were opened with respect to many abuses of the papal power ; but, notwithstanding this, such a power was almost universally thought to be necessary in the Christian world. The ground of their

their claims as the *vicars of Christ* was never called in question by any who had the power to oppose them.

When Edward III of England remonstrated to Clement VI against his disposal of bishopricks by way of reserve, as contrary to an act of his parliament, he answered, "Consider it is not the apostles, but Christ himself, who has given to the church of Rome the supremacy over all the churches in the world. It is he that instituted all the patriarchates, metropolitans, and cathedral churches, and all the dignities that are in them. It is to the pope that the disposal of all these dignities, offices, and benefices, belongs."

Alphonso king of Castile, complaining to the same pope in A. D. 1348, of his giving the bishoprick of Coriæ to a foreigner, he answered, "Did not the apostles, of whom the bishops are the successors, receive a commission from our Saviour to preach to all nations? Was St. James, from whom the Spaniards received the gospel, a native of Spain? Can you be surprized then, if the pope follow the example of him whose place he occupies on earth, and before whom there is no distinction of nations, or acceptance of persons, and if he chuse capable persons, tho' strangers, to conduct the flock of Christ?" However, Fleury well observes, that a thousand years before  
this



this pope Julius reproached the Orientals for making Gregory of Cappadocia bishop of Alexandria, who was not a native of the place. When the same pope made many reserves of prelacies, and abbeys, making no account of the elections of chapters and communities, and was told that his predecessors had not done such things, he said they did not know what it was to be popes. *Fleury*, Vol. 20.

P. 31.

The popes did not even think themselves bound by what themselves had sworn to before their election. In A. D. 1353 Innocent VI refused to abide by the restrictions that he himself, as well as the other cardinals, had agreed to and signed during the vacancy of the see. "That writing," he said, "is a prejudice to the plenitude of power which God himself with his own mouth gave to the pope only, since it bounds and restrains it within certain limits. This power," he said, "could not be complete, if it depended upon the consent, discretion, and agreement of any others; and those rash oaths would be prejudicial to other churches." He therefore declared that the cardinals had no power to make such agreements; and said, "We and our successors the popes are not obliged to observe them, or the oaths made in consequence of them."

Tho',

Tho', in order to put an end to the great schism which had so long divided the church, of which an account will be given hereafter, it was necessary that a general council should assert a right of deposing them, and its superiority to them, which the council of Constance did in the most explicit manner, and Martin himself, who was elected pope in consequence of that council, had assented to it, he was no sooner instated in that dignity, than he claimed the same power that his predecessors had done. Having refused to condemn a treatise which had given offence to the Poles, they appealed to a council. But he immediately published a bull, forbidding all appeals from the sovereign judge, or the apostolic see, or to decline its decision in matters of faith. This is the more

extraordinary, as this pope, in his bull against the Hussites in A. D. 1418, obliged them to swear that what had been approved or condemned by all the general councils, and especially that of Constance, ought to be approved or condemned by all the faithful; and the superiority of the council to the pope was among the decrees of this council. On this occasion Gerson, the chancellor of the university of Paris, and who was much looked up to in all the proceedings of the council, published a treatise, in which he maintained that there is no sovereign judge upon earth in matters of faith be-

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ides a general council, alleging the decrees of this very council of Constance in his support. Notwithstanding this, the question remained undecided among the Catholics: The Gallican church, however, held the doctrine of Gerson. \*

It is something remarkable, however, that no pope in this period pretended to personal infallibility in matters of faith. On occasion of the different decrees of Nicolas III and John XXII, cardinal Fournier, afterwards Benedict XII, maintained that "Nicolas did not prove from the scriptures that what he advanced was true, but that the authority of the scriptures had determined John in what he had decided. And, with respect to faith and manners, it is not true that what

\* Clement V made additions to the pontifical constitutions, which from him were called *Clementines*. John XXII and some of the succeeding popes added others, which, being miscellaneous, and without order, were called *extravagantes*. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 233.

Clement VI is said to have claimed more power with respect to a future world than had been done, at least in so direct a manner, by any of his predecessors. In his bull for the celebration of the jubilee he expressly commands the angels of paradise to admit those who should die on their journey to Rome for that purpose directly to the perfect glory of paradise, without letting them go thro' purgatory. But Baluzius says the bull is apocryphal. *Ib.* Vol. 2. p. 230.

“ what has been decreed by one pope cannot be “ revoked by another.” On this occasion Fleury observes, that the doctrine of the infallibility of the popes was not introduced into the schools till more than a century after this.

John XXII submitted to the judgment of the church with respect to his favourite doctrine concerning the state of the dead, and in A. D. 1351 Clement VI, apprehending that he was at the point of death, published a constitution, in which he said that, if in teaching, preaching, or otherwise, any thing had escaped him contrary to the Catholic faith, or good morals, he revoked it, and submitted to the correction of the holy see. Also, when Urban V was upon his death bed, after professing his belief of the Catholic faith, he said that, if he had advanced any thing contrary to it, he, revoked it, and submitted to the correction of the church.

The power of the popes in temporals seems to have been as generally acknowledged as in spirituals, at least when it was favourable to the interests of the persons concerned. But certainly no recourse would have been had to it if his right to interfere had not been generally allowed.

Boniface VIII, in his instructions to his legates whom he had sent into Hungary, to support the interest of Charles Robert, grandson of Charles  
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king of Naples, having heard that the lords had given the kingdom to the king of Bohemia, says, "The sovereign pontiff, established by God over kings and kingdoms, and holding the first rank over all mortals, judges, tranquilly from his throne, and dissipates evils by his look. The first king of Hungary," he said, "gave his kingdom to the church of Rome, and would not take his crown but from the vicar of Jesus Christ; knowing that no person should take to himself honour if he be not called of God." He cited all the parties to appear before him, and he reproved the king of Hungary for calling himself king of Poland; saying that that kingdom belonged to the holy see, and forbidding him to use that title, or exercise any power in that country. This pontiff took for his devise *two swords* intimating that all temporal as well as all spiritual power belonged to him. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 225.

The popes claimed the sovereignty of all heathen countries, and assumed the right of disposing of them as they pleased to christian princes. Thus Clement VI, in A. D. 1344, made Lewis son of Alphonso king of Castile, king of the fortunate islands; he engaging to conquer them, and establish in them the christian religion.

The popes, notwithstanding their long and hard struggles with the emperors, abated nothing

of their claims with respect to them, and still less with respect to Naples and Sicily. On the death of the emperor Henry VII in A. D. 1313, who had declared Robert king of Naples a rebel, pope Clement V published a bull, in which he says that the emperor's oath to himself at his coronation was an oath of fealty, and that Robert, being his vassal, could not be guilty of treason to the emperor. "We therefore," he says, "by the superiority which we have over the empire, the power by which we succeed to the empire during a vacancy, and, by the plenitude of power given by Jesus Christ in the person of St. Peter, declare that sentence null and without effect."

The papal excommunications and interdicts, tho', as we shall see, they were often disregarded, were perhaps more frequent in this period than in any other. The king of Denmark having ill used the archbishop of Lunden, Boniface VIII excommunicated him, and laid his kingdom under an interdict in A. D. 1297; and this measure brought the king to make his submission, and give satisfaction to the prelate. In A. D. 1324 John XXII published a crusade against Galeas Visconti, the son of Matthew, who disposed of the benefices in the duchy of Milan at his own pleasure; promising the same indulgence to those who would engage in this expedition as to those who went to fight

fight for the recovery of the holy land from the infidels. This family was almost constantly at variance with the popes; and tho' they often made very light of the papal censures, they found it necessary to compromise their differences, and buy their peace at the last.

The popes, besides asserting their own rights, were in no want of strenuous advocates. Alvar Pelagius, a Spanish Franciscan, in a treatise published in A. D. 1329, of the *complaints of the church*, maintained that, "as Jesus Christ is the sole pontiff, king and lord of all, so he has but one vicar on earth for all purposes. Christ" he said, "has not divided his power, but has given it, as he had it himself; the pope is vicar not of man, but of God, and all the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof; so that every king is the pope's. The Pagan emperors," he said, "never [held the empire justly; for he that is so far from God, as an idolater, or a heretic, cannot possess any thing justly under him." I do not remember to have met with any other argument in support of the papal power that goes quite so far as this.

The pope's power in matters of literature was something more plausible than over kingdoms; and in this period it seems to have been taken for granted, tho' the origin of the power cannot well be traced, that no university could be established

without the papal authority. Thus in A. D. 1339 Benedict XII instituted an university at Verona, for teaching law, medicine, and the arts.

The exorbitant claims of the popes were far from passing without opposition in this period, either with respect to argument, or methods more forcible and effectual. Marsilius of Padua, and John of Jandun, who were supported by Lewis of Bavaria (whose contest with the popes will be recited in another section) maintained in their publications, that Peter was no more the head of the church than the other apostles, that he had no more authority than they, and that Jesus Christ made no man his vicar on earth; that it was the business of the emperor to correct and punish the pope, to appoint him, and to set him aside; that popes, archbishops, and simple priests, have all equal authority by the institution of Jesus Christ; and that neither the pope, nor the whole church, can punish any person without the authority of the emperor. These propositions were censured as heretical by pope John XXII, in A. D. 1327.

But spirited princes opposed the papal claims with more effect than writers, and the haughtiest of the popes were often obliged to give way to them. Boniface VIII, finding what offence he had given by a bull of his, forbidding the clergy to give to the princes without the consent of the pope, li-  
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mitted it to *forced exactions*, leaving them at liberty to make voluntary contributions for the defence of the kingdom, and even allowing the kings to require such contributions, and to be the judges of the necessity of them, which was in fact undoing what he had done before.

Edward I of England having demanded a fifth of the revenues of the clergy, they refused to pay it, pleading this bull of Boniface; but he insisted upon his demand, and seized their goods. During the contests between Bruce and Baliol for the kingdom of Scotland, Edward claimed, and conquered, the country; when this pope alleged that it belonged to him, and informed him that, if he had any pretensions to it, he must plead his cause at Rome. "For," said he, "we reserve the cognizance of all contests that are, or may be, moved upon this subject to ourselves." Edward replied that this was not a cause to be brought before any court of justice; and giving the reasons for his claim, the pope did not think proper to urge his pretensions any farther.

During the civil wars in Hungary when Buda was laid under an interdict by those prelates who joined the party of the pope, others paid no regard to it. They even assembled the people, and excommunicated the pope and all the bishops and monks in Hungary.

When the emperor Henry VII was crowned at Rome in A. D. 1312, he had a quarrel with Robert king of Naples, and their troops fought in the city. Upon this pope Clement V ordered them to make peace. But the emperor said, that tho' Robert was the vassal of the pope, he, as emperor, did not hold his power of him ; he only owed the pope protection ; and if he did not assert his power to do himself justice, he should diminish the rights of that empire which he had sworn to maintain. The pope was much offended at this answer, but made no further opposition.

When Innocent VI in A. D. 1358, sent the bishop of Cavaillon into Germany, to levy the tenth of all church livings for the use of the apostolic chamber, the clergy of the three provinces of Treves, Mayence, and Cologne, assembled, and absolutely refused to contribute any thing. They wrote to the pope to give their reasons, and he, for fear of making a schism in the church, acquiesced. On this occasion also the emperor convoked the princes of the empire, where the demands of the pope were considered, and with great indignation refused. " the Romans" it was said, " have always considered Germany as a mine of gold, and they have invented many ways of exhausting it. Every year great sums of money are carried from Germany to Rome, for the confirmation of  
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“ prelates, the solicitation of livings, the prosecution of appeals to the holy see, dispensations, absolutions, indulgences, privileges, and other favours. Formerly the archbishops confirmed the election of the bishops their suffragans; but in our times pope John has taken their right from them, and now he demands of the clergy a new and unheard of subsidy, threatening with censures those who will not give it. Let us stop the beginning of this evil, and not suffer so shameful a servitude to be established.”

When the kings of England were embarrassed, they often gave way to the exorbitant claims of the popes; but this was not the case with Edward I, or III. Clement VI having given church livings in England to two cardinals, Edward III imprisoned their agents and drove them out of the kingdom, without paying any regard to the pope's remonstrances. And in A. D. 1390 the parliament of England made a law forbidding any person to go beyond sea to obtain any benefice, on pain of being imprisoned as a rebel.\* Pope Boniface

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\* In the 26th of Edward III, the statute of *provisors* was passed, by which the king, and other lords, might present to benefices of their own, or their ancestor's foundation, and not the bishops of Rome. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 1.

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was much disturbed at this, as king Richard II was a person he much depended upon; and he published a bull declaring the act to be null, as well as those of the two Edwards to the same purpose, and ordering those who were in possession of benefices on the pretence of those ordinances to quit them within two months with restitution of the fruits. No regard, however, was paid to this bull, and the king ordered by proclamation that all persons possessed of benefices, who were then at the court of Rome, should return to England on the pain of losing them. Upon this the English prelates left the court of Rome with great precipitation, to the great alarm of the pope, who immediately sent a nuncio to England; and at the next par-

The statute of *præmunire*, passed in the 16th Richard II, enacted that if any person purchased a translation to a benefice, or any other instrument from the court of Rome, or brought them to England, or received them there, they should be out of the king's protection, and forfeit their goods and chattels. *Neal*. Vol. 1, p. 2. From this time the archbishops called no more convocations by their sole authority, but by licence from the king, their synods being formed by writ, or precept from the crown, directed to the archbishops to assemble their clergy, in order to consult about such affairs as he should lay before them. Still, however, their canons were binding till the act of the submission of the clergy in the reign of Henry VIII. *Ib.*

parliament, tho' the king was disposed to favour the pope, the nobles opposed it, but allowed of applications to Rome till their next meeting.

In A. D. 1376 there was a rising of many of the cities belonging to the pope against his authority, his officers being driven out, and the people carrying a standard, with the word *liberty* upon it. The Florentines having taken the lead in this revolt, Gregory XI passed upon them a sentence of excommunication and interdict. He also forbade all persons to have any commercial intercourse with them, deprived them of all their privileges, and of their university, confiscated their goods, and abandoned their persons to any who would seize them, as slaves. In consequence of this, the Florentines established at Avignon, where the pope then resided, and also in other places, were obliged to return home; those who were in England became serfs to the king, and their property came into his possession. But at home the Florentines paid no regard to the censure. They were even the more animated to maintain the league, and published defamatory libels against the church, and the person of the pope, who then sent an army against them under the command of Sir John Hawkwood, but this made no impression upon them. The Florentines, however, suffering much in consequence of the pope's measures, sent Catherine of Sienna, a nun in

great reputation for sanctity, and for her visions, to make peace with the pope ; but she not being seconded by their own ambassadors, nothing was done. At length however, both parties being weary of the contest, another treaty was entered into when the death of Gregory put an end to it ; and Urban VI, presently after his election in A. D. 1378, took off all the censures from the people of Florence.

In this period, which abounded with writers, we find the power of the popes attacked in works of some extent, and celebrity. Dante Alighieri, the famous Italian poet, who was of the Gibelline party, was the first who appeared in this new field of controversy, in three books *de Monarchia*. He was followed by Wm. Occam, the Franciscan, in a treatise *De Potestate Ecclesiastica, et seculari*, written in defence of Philip king of France against Boniface VIII, and they were followed by several others in different countries of Europe. But in France the most strenuous defender of the rights of princes against the popes, was Peter de Cunicres, the king's attorney general in the parliament of Autun. In consequence of these writings, and the discussion which they occasioned, the temporal jurisdiction of the clergy was much limited, especially in cases of excommunication, of sins, and of oaths ; and in Germany the *pontifical law*, especially

cially that contained in the *decretals*, lost much of its authority in the courts. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 226.

The distance of pope John XXII from Italy, and his difference with the emperor Lewis, were the causes of great disorders in Italy, where the cities were not only opposed to one another, but engaged in open hostilities and massacres, and all sorts of crimes were committed. The rebels getting the upperhand, the authority of the pope, both spiritual and temporal, was despised. At Recanate his officers, sent to enforce his authority, were attacked and killed, to the number of three hundred. Of those who escaped, some were imprisoned, some dragged thro' the streets, and some hanged, &c. On this the pope excommunicated them, and they despising this, he published a crusade against them. At this time almost all the cities of Italy belonging to the see of Rome were possessed by lords and usurpers, and it was only by sending armies that they were reduced. Among others John de Vico, calling himself prefect of Rome, seized upon Viterbo, Toscanella, and other places in Tuscany; and tho' excommunicated by description by John XXII, as an usurper of lands belonging to the church, and by name by Clement VI, he despised the censures six years, on which he was declared to be *suspected of heresy*, and  
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excommunicated again, as *contumacious in matters of faith*. At length he was reduced by the warlike cardinal Albornos.

The sovereignty of the city of Rome, we have seen, was long disputed with the popes. At the accession of Clement VI the office of *senator* was given him for his life, but not as pope. But a more serious opposition to his civil authority in that city, tho' not avowedly so, was made in the time of this pope by Nicolo di Rienzi, a great enthusiast, as Petrarch and many others at this time were, for the glory of antient Rome. In A. D. 1347 he got himself made *tribune of the people*, and assuming the whole authority, repressed injustice and violence, by which the citizens had long suffered, with great spirit and effect. He then proceeded to assert the right of the Romans to the government of the world, and the appointment of emperors, &c. But abusing his power, he was expelled by the people, and fled to the king of Hungary. By him he was at length delivered to the emperor, and sent a prisoner to Avignon, where he continued all the life time of Clement VI. But as it did not appear that he had done any thing against the church, Innocent VI sent him in A. D. 1353 with cardinal Albornos into Italy, thinking he might be of use in appeasing the troubles of that country, especially at Rome, where he was still in great esteem



esteem with many. Accordingly, finding Rome in great disorder, and several attempts of the people to restore tranquility having failed, he was received with joy, and reinstated in his former power; but again abusing his power in a shocking manner, he was murdered by the people in A. D. 1354.

It was chiefly the trouble that the citizens of Rome gave to the popes, from a jealousy of their civil power, that induced them to leave it, and at length to fix their residence at Avignon, where they continued more than half a century. Finding, however, many inconveniencies from their residence out of Italy, and being much importuned to return, Urban V in A. D. 1367 went to Italy with a view to reside there. At Viterbo, where he stayed four months, deputies from Rome offered him the full sovereignty of the city, and the possession of the castle of St. Angelo; and he entered Rome on the 16th of October, which was sixty-three years after Benedict XI left that city. His entry was made with two thousand armed men, the clergy and the people receiving him with great solemnity and joy. Being, however, dissatisfied with their conduct, he left them, and returned to Avignon. The people of Rome being determined to have a pope who should reside among them, sent a deputation to his successor, Gregory XI, to request that he would come; and it appearing that they

they were determined upon the measure, and had even fixed upon another pope if he should refuse, he thought proper to comply with their request, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of his cardinals, and the king of France. The people of Rome promised him the intire sovereignty of their city; and at the 17th of June A. D. 1377 he arrived at Rome, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. All the lamps of the church of St. Peter were lighted on the occasion, and they amounted to more than eight thousand. Rome has never been without a pope ever since. After this, however, two attempts were made to take the sovereignty of Rome from Boniface IX, but without effect; and the pope ascribing them to the Colonna family, in A. D. 1400 published a violent bull against some of them, repeating all their offences from the time of Boniface VIII.

During the residence of the popes at Avignon, they gained several substantial advantages with respect to revenue and territory also, tho' they lost ground in Italy. In A. D. 1306, Clement V appropriated to himself all the revenues of the first year of all benefices that should be vacant in England in two years from that time, including bishoprics, abbeys, priories, prebends, and the smallest livings; and this was the beginning of *Annatos*. Before this some bishops had requested of the pope the

the revenues of such churches as should be vacant in their dioceses for one year, and he thought he might take to himself what he had granted to others.

John XXII got much money by the translation of bishops which had not been frequent before. In consequence of this when one bishop died many were benefitted by it, and the pope did not fail to come in for his share. *Giannone*, Vol. 7. p. 229.

It appears by the letters of John XXII, that in his time Peter's pence was paid not only in England, but also thro' Wales, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Poland, tho' the origin of the claim does not appear. But the most important acquisition that was made by the popes was that of the jurisdiction of Avignon, which was granted to Clement VI for eighty thousand florins of gold, in A. D. 1348, by Joan queen of Naples, who sold it because she wanted money. Afterwards the emperor, of whom it was held, consented to give him the intire sovereignty of it,

On the accession of Benedict XI the constitution of Gregory X was observed for the first time. For the cardinals did not enter the conclave for the election of a pope till after nine days. It had been renewed by Celestine V, and confirmed by Boniface VIII.

## SECTION II.

*Of the Difference between Pope Boniface VII, with Philip le Bel King of France, and, with the Family of Colonna.*

**W**E shall form a more distinct idea both of the spirit of the court of Rome, and also of that which by this time began to prevail among the laity, from the history of the differences between pope Boniface VIII with Philip le Bel king of France, and the family of Colonna, which I shall therefore succinctly relate. Many of the clergy also, who frequently suffered from the encroachments of the popes, were ready to take part against them, and a spirit of free enquiry and discussion, which now prevailed, could not but be unfavourable to claims so exorbitant and ill founded as those of the Roman pontiffs.

Boniface VIII, besides the violence of his temper, was thought by many to have used unfair means to procure the resignation of his predecessor Celestine; and therefore that his own election was liable to objection; and this circumstance, together with a prevailing opinion of his contempt of

religion, gave his enemies a considerable advantage against him. \*

In the beginning of his pontificate Boniface published a bull, forbidding the clergy to pay any thing by way of subsidy to the temporal princes without his express consent. This, considering the great proportion of the lands that were then held by the clergy, and their great wealth, was thought very unreasonable, those persons who enjoyed the most in any state being under a natural obligation to contribute the most to its defence. No regard, therefore, was paid to this bull, and afterwards he limited it, as was mentioned before, to forced exactions, leaving the clergy to make what voluntary contributions they should think proper.

Philip

\* Great doubts were entertained of the Christianity of Boniface VIII. One Nicolas deposed, that he was present at a conversation about the religions of the Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, when Boniface said they were the invention of men, that there was no life besides the present, that there is no change of the sacramental elements in consecration, that there is no resurrection; and that this was not only his opinion, but that of all men of letters, tho' the simple and ignorant thought otherwise. This Nicolas declared to be said by him not in jest, but seriously. *Fleury*, Vol. 9. p. 179.

Philip resenting this interference of the pope in matters of civil policy, in A. D. 1296 published an ordinance, forbidding any gold, silver, or jewels to be carried out of the kingdom, or any strangers to traffick in it. The pope, knowing that this wholly respected himself, and his agents, was exceedingly offended; and remonstrated with the king on the subject, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures if he did not revoke his ordinance. This, however, the king did not do; but it was not the immediate cause of the rupture between them.

About the same time Boniface, having a difference with the two cardinals of the family of Colonna, summoned them to appear before him. But they refused to go; and went so far as openly to assert, that, the resignation of Celestine being uncanonical, he was not rightful pope, and even demanded a general council to determine the question. A writing expressing this, published May 10th, A. D. 1297, was signed by many persons, especially the French; and on the same day the pope published a bull of excommunication against them, deposing them from their cardinalship, and ordering them once more to appear before him, under the penalty of the confiscation of their goods. They disregarding this, he presently after issued two other bulls against them, and their near relations, especially James Colonna, surnamed *Sciara*.

7a, ordering them to be pursued as heretics. They connecting themselves with Frederic king of Sicily, who was at open variance with the pope, and receiving his ambassadors in the city of Palestrina in A. D. 1298, the pope demolished their palace, and the houses they had in Rome; and moreover published a crusade against them, with the same indulgences as for the war in the holy land, in order to drive them from Palestrina, and the other places which they held in the neighbourhood of Rome.

An army being by this means assembled, and Nepi taken, the Colonna's surrendered to the pope, and he took off the excommunication he had laid them under; but he entirely ruined and demolished their castle at Palestrina. This being a violation of the terms on which they had surrendered, they revolted at the end of the year, when the pope resumed his excommunication; and they, dreading his power, fled, some to Sicily, and others into France, where they lived in exile during all the pontificate of Boniface, and where they were materially serviceable to Philip in the rupture, which, on the following occasion, soon took place between him and the pope.

In A. D. 1301 Bernard de Saisset bishop of Pamiers, having endeavoured to persuade the count de Foix, and the count de Comminges, to revolt

from the king, and having said that his city of Pamiers did not belong to the kingdom, the king, with the advice of his lords, and also of many doctors, both clergy and laity, caused him to be arrested, and committed him as a prisoner to the archbishop of Narbonne his metropolitan, with the consent of the bishop of Senlis, and the archbishop of Rheims. At the same time the king sent to the pope, to request that he would degrade him, that he might be punished as any other person guilty of the same crime.

In the mean time the pope, having heard of the transaction, wrote to the king, insisting on the bishop being set at liberty, and having his goods, and those of his church, restored to him, and that he might with all freedom come to Rome to be judged there. He also ordered the archbishop of Narbonne to release the bishop, notwithstanding the king's orders to the contrary. At the same time he addressed another bull to the king himself, in which he says, "God has set us over kings and kingdoms, to pull up and to destroy, to build and to plant. Do not, therefore, persuade yourself that you have no superior, and that you are not subject to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He who thinks so is mad, and he who maintains it obstinately is an infidel, separated from the flock of the good pastor," Then, after  
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enumerating the misdemeanors of the king with respect to the clergy, and the kingdom in general, he summoned the prelates of France, and the king himself, to appear before him on the first of November.

The king, highly provoked at this, assembled the principal lords of the kingdom, ecclesiastical and secular; and on the 11th of February A. D. 1302, after publishing it by sound of trumpet thro' the city, he publicly burned the bull. Then, in a parliament held at Paris, he enumerated all the exactions and abuses of the court of Rome, which he said were increasing every day, and said that he was determined to put a stop to them. The Barons, having deliberated on the subject, declared that they were determined to bear these impositions no longer, even tho' the king should be willing to do it. But the clergy were much embarrassed, professing allegiance to the king for the fiefs they held of him, but requested leave to attend the pope, on account of the obedience they likewise owed to him. This, however, the barons declared they would by no means permit.

On this they wrote to the pope, earnestly intreating that he would revoke his order; since, if they left the kingdom, all the barons would consider them as guilty of high treason, and as to ecclesiastical censures, they despised them. The ba-

and also wrote to the cardinals, appealing to them against the pope, and exhorting them to prevent a rupture between the holy see and the kingdom of France; persuaded, they said, after considering the encroachments of the pope on the rights of the king, that they could not approve of such novelty, and such a foolish undertaking. The cardinals in their answer apologized for the pope, as not having meant to claim any thing to the prejudice of the king's rights in things of a temporal nature.

That no prelates attended from France, the pope held the council to which he had summoned them, October 30th, A. D. 1302, when he published a bull, in which he maintained that, in the church there are two swords, the one spiritual, employed by the pope, and the other temporal, in the hands of princes, according to the order or permission of the pope; and that to hold a contrary doctrine was Manicheism, or that of two principles. He concluded with saying, that it was necessary to salvation, that every human being be subject to the pope. On the same day he published an excommunication against all those who had hindered any person from going to Rome, tho' they should be kings or emperors, which was evidently levelled at the king of France, for preventing his prelates attending that council.

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The pope then sent a nuncio into France, requiring of the king, among other things, to justify his conduct in burning his bull, under the penalty of revoking all the privileges granted by himself or his predecessors to him, his family, or his officers ; and informing him that, if he did not give him satisfaction with respect to his complaint, he would proceed against him temporally and spiritually, as he should judge proper. The king answered particularly, and without asperity, to every article of his complaints ; declaring that he had no intention to do any thing in contempt of the pope, or of the church ; but the pope was by no means satisfied with it.

After this, the king held a council at Paris, attended by many prelates, as well as lords ; when William de Nogaret, a professor of law, maintained that Boniface was unjustly possessed of the holy see ; that he was a manifest heretic, a simoniac, and guilty of numberless enormous crimes ; and that he could not be tolerated but with the destruction of the church. He then demanded a general council for the purpose of deposing him, and said that, in the mean time, he ought to be seized and imprisoned. Lastly, addressing himself to the king, he said, “ You, Sire, are bound to do this for the maintenance of the faith, especially as a king whose duty it is to exterminate all the wicked, by the oath

“that you have taken to protect the churches of  
“your kingdom, and by the example of your an-  
“cestors, which obliges you to deliver the Roman  
“church from oppression.”

The Pope perceiving that the difference must now be decided by arms, in order to strengthen himself against Philip, declared his approbation of the election of Albert of Austria to the empire, tho' he had opposed him before, treating him as a rebel, and a murderer of Adolphus. But before he did this Albert acknowledged the power of the pope to create an emperor, that kings and emperors receive from the pope the power of the material sword, and promised to defend the rights of the pope against all his enemies, and to make no alliance with them, but to make war on them if the pope should order him to do so. The pope also gained Frederic king of Sicily by absolving him from the excommunication he lay under, taking off the interdict from his kingdom, and approving his marriage; Frederic acknowledging that he held the kingdom of Sicily as vassal to the pope, and promising to pay him every year three thousand ounces of gold. He was also to send him an hundred knights well armed, to serve for three months, as often as the pope should have occasion for them, and to have for friends and enemies those of the church of Rome.

The

The pope, strengthened by these alliances, declared himself not satisfied with the apology of the king; and in a letter addressed to the cardinal Le Main, then in France, April 13, A. D. 1303, he ordered him to denounce the king as an excommunicated person, and also those who should administer the sacrament to him, or celebrate mass in his presence, of what rank soever they might be, even tho' they were archbishops.

On this the king called a council of his nobles and prelates the 13th of June, when the principal nobility did not hesitate to declare against Boniface; saying that the church was in danger under his conduct, and that the king ought to procure the calling of a general council. But the clergy desired time to deliberate. The next day William de Pleffis produced a writing, containing twenty-nine articles of accusation against the pope, among which were his disbelief of the immortality of the soul, and of transubstantiation. He also alleged that it was commonly said that he did not believe fornication to be a sin, that he paid no regard to the fasts of the church, but ate flesh at all times and without any reason. After this he repeated his request to the king and the prelates, to call a general council, and in the mean time to make their appeal to it.

On this the king recited his act of appeal, and desired the clergy to procure the calling of a council as soon as possible. However, the clergy said that they would not make themselves parties in the case, but, constrained by necessity, they joined in the appeal to a future council, and declared that if the pope should proceed against the king by excommunication, they would not be influenced by it, but defend the king, and those who adhered to him, with all their power. In return, the king promised to defend them all against the pope. Pursuing this conduct, he ordered the estates of all foreign prelates to be seized. The university and the chapter of Paris, and the Dominicans who were there, declared their adherence to the appeal, and in August and September the king had received more than seven hundred public acts of the same nature, from bishops, chapters of cathedral churches, abbots, and monks of divers orders, universities, lords, communities, and cities.

The pope hearing of this, published several bulls on the 15th of August, in which he treated the charge of heresy against himself as a mere calumny, and the calling of a council without him as a thing impossible; and concluded with threatening the king to proceed against him, and all his adherents, in a proper time and place. As these bulls could not now be delivered in the usual form  
in

in France, he made a constitution, by which their being published in Rome was declared to be sufficient.

In the mean time the king, having determined on his measures, sent Stephen Colonna, and other Italians, men of ability and spirit, with Wm. De Nogaret, to seize the pope, and bring him to Lyons, where the council was to be held, while the pope was at Anagni, with his cardinals and his court, thinking himself perfectly safe in his native city; and there he drew up another bull, in which he said that, tho', as vicar of Jesus Christ, he had the power of governing kings with a rod of iron, and breaking them as a potter's vessel, he had used the most gentle means with the king of France; but that these having had no effect, he now absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, forbidding them, under pain of anathema, to obey him, or render him any service, and declaring all his treaties with other princes null.

But the day before this bull was to have been published, Sept. 7th, William de Nogaret, accompanied by Sciarra Colonna, and some lords of the country, with three hundred horsemen, and many foot soldiers, who had been sent into the country in small bodies, and in disguise, entered Anagni, crying, "Long live the king of France, and die the pope." Being then joined by the citizens,

tizens, they seized the pope after some resistance, the cardinals flying, and hiding themselves. Boniface now finding himself in their power, and expecting nothing less than death, put on his pontifical dress, saying he would die in it, and taking in his hands the keys and the cross, placed himself in the pontifical chair.

In the evening Nogaret informed him of the cause of his seizure, which he assured him was not to offer him any violence, but to conduct him to the general council, which would be held whether he consented to it or not. Colonna behaved with less respect, and insulted him; but tho' they urged him much to resign, he declared he would not, but would rather die. After some days, the inhabitants of Anagni, repenting of their having abandoned the pope, and perceiving the small number of those who had seized him, rose against the French; crying, "Long live the pope, and die the traitors," and with some difficulty they drove them from the palace and the city. The pope, being now at liberty, immediately left the place, and went directly to Rome, determined to assemble a council, and take his full revenge on the king of France; but on the 11th of October he died, in consequence of the mortification to which he had been exposed.

Clement



Clement V, who succeeded Boniface, was a Frenchman, and before his election entered into several stipulations with Philip, \* whose concurrence had great influence in his election, and in consequence of this, he annulled all the censures of Boniface against the king; but he declined doing what the king much insisted upon with respect to that pope, whom he would have condemned as a heretic; and his bones dug up and burned.

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### SECTION III.

*Of the Contests between the Popes and Lewis of Bavaria.*

THE contest of the popes with the emperor Lewis of Bavaria was of longer continuance than that with Philip Le Bel, and ended more  
favour-

\* On the death of Boniface there was a dispute among the Italian and French cardinals; but it was compromised by the latter naming three of their countrymen, and the former chusing one of the three. The king, being apprized of their intended choice, viz. Bertrand de Got archbishop of Bourdeaux, entered into stipulations with him, the pope engaging to grant him six things, five of them named at the time, and one to be mentioned afterwards.

favourably for them. Lewis, at his election in A. D. 1314, had a rival in Frederick duke of Austria, and the son of Albert; but in A. D. 1323 he defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to renounce his pretensions to the empire; so that he remained without a rival. But he incurred the displeasure of John XXII by taking the part of the Gibellines in Italy, at the head of whom were the Visconti's of Milan, who had been declared excommunicated and heretics. Persisting in this opposition to the pope, he was, in A. D. 1323, warned to desist from the administration of the empire, and the protection of the enemies of the church, under pain of excommunication; and all persons ecclesiastical and secular were charged, under the same penalty, not to obey him. Lewis remonstrated, that he knew nothing of the heresy of the Visconti, but supposed that the pope considered those as rebels to the church who were faithful to the empire, and said that the pope himself was a favourer of heretics, in his proceedings against the Fratricelli, of which an account will be given hereafter. He therefore appealed, as Philip of France had done, to a general council. He also published in Germany, that the object of the pope was to deprive the electors of their right. This, however, the pope said he was far from doing; and that the paternal hand which had raised them could not mean

mean to injure them. This he said on the idea that Gregory V had given to the electors the right of choosing an emperor.

Lewis persisting in his opposition, by assisting the Gibellines in Italy, the pope, on the 15th of July A. D. 1324, published a definitive sentence against him, depriving him of his title and office, under pain of excommunication, if he did not make his submission before the first of October. But so far was Lewis from making any submission, that, in a great diet at Saxenhausen; he treated the pope as an enemy of the peace both in Italy and Germany, as having publicly said; that when the secular princes were divided, then the pope was really pope, and feared by all the world; that he considered all his enemies as heretics, especially if they were faithful to the empire. He then charged him with heresy in his condemnation of the Fratricelli, and again appealed to a general council.

In A. D. 1327 Lewis, being arrived in Italy, again denounced John XXII as a heretic, and unworthy of being pope; objecting to him sixteen articles of accusation, which he did with the advice of many bishops, other prelates, and many Franciscans; and with them was the master of the Teutonic knights, and all the schismatics. The chief of these articles of accusation was; that he was an enemy of the poverty of Jesus Christ,

in maintaining that he had something in property. In contempt of the pope's excommunication, he had always persons to perform divine service for him, and who moreover excommunicated the pope, calling him in derision prester John. In answer to this, the pope charged Lewis with the heresies specified in his bulls, declared him again deprived of all his dignities, and forbade any person to obey him.

Lewis entered Rome January 7th, A. D. 1328, and caused himself to be crowned emperor on the 17th, by James Albertin, who had been bishop of Castello or Venice, but had been deposed by John XXII; and after enumerating the crimes with which he charged the pope, (among which he reckoned his employing ecclesiastical persons to fight for him, his assuming temporal as well as spiritual power, which Jesus Christ had distinguished, and put into different hands; when he said, "*My kingdom is not of this world*," and his refusing to reside in Rome) he solemnly pronounced his deposition from the papal dignity.

Before the emperor left the city James Colonna, the friend of Petrarch, distinguished himself by the boldness of his conduct in favour of the pope. Standing in the public square of St. Marcel, in the hearing of more than a thousand persons, he read a bull of the pope against Lewis, declar-

declaring that John was a Catholic and lawful pope, and Lewis and all his adherents excommunicated. He also offered to prove what he had advanced by reason, and if necessary by the sword, in a proper place. Then, without opposition, he fixed the pope's bull to the door of the church of St. Marcell, and immediately mounting his horse, made his escape.

After his coronation, Lewis proceeded to appoint another pope, and made choice of Peter Rainallucci, a Franciscan, who took the name of Nicolas V. He published bulls against John, as John, in return, did against him. Presently after this, the affairs of Lewis beginning to decline, he was obliged to leave Rome, and as soon as he was gone, the citizens returned to the obedience of John.

The pontificate of Nicolas was of no long continuance. Being seized by count Boniface in A. D. 1335, he was delivered up to the pope at Avignon, where he made an ample confession of every thing that he had done, and according to the stipulations with the count, his life was spared, and he had every indulgence that he could have in a state of confinement, in which he lived three years.

After this, Lewis was very desirous of being reconciled to the pope, provided he might be acknowledged emperor, but this the pope refused. How-

ever the king of Bohemia, who made the proposal for him, did not abandon him, but went into Italy, as his vicar of the empire.

The quarrel of John XXII was taken up by Clement VI, who in A. D. 1343 published a bull against Lewis, requiring him to desist from the title of emperor, and the administration of the empire, and appear before him within three months, declaring that otherwise he would proceed against him according to the enormity of his actions. This term having expired without his making any submission, he was declared to be contumacious. But Lewis threatening the king of France, that if any thing was done against him he would consider him as the author of it, and Philip interceding with the pope in his favour, nothing further was done against him at that time.

The next year Lewis was near being reconciled to the pope, but it was on the most humiliating terms. He consented to confess all the errors and heresies that had been laid to his charge, to renounce the empire, to resume it as a favour from the pope, and leave himself, his queen, his goods and estates, at the pope's disposal. He also swore, in the presence of a notary sent by the pope, that he would observe all these terms, and never revoke them. But the princes of the empire had more spirit than their head. They objected to these

these terms, as tending to the destruction of the empire, and remonstrated with the pope on the occasion. At this he was much offended, and proceeded to take farther measures against Lewis.

In A. D. 1246 Clement pronounced a sentence of deposition against Lewis, and invited the electors to chuse another king of the Romans; and Charles of Luxemburg promising that, if he were chosen, he would fulfil all the engagements of his grandfather Henry and his predecessors, that he would revoke all that had been done by Lewis, that he would not take possession of Rome or any place belonging to the church, in or out of Italy, or of the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, or Corsica; that he would not even enter Rome till the day of his coronation, and leave it the day after, and that he would never return into the territories of the church without the pope's leave, he recommended him; and when he was elected, he confirmed the election, in a bull in which he said "God had given to the pope, in the person of St. Peter, full power of ecclesiastical and terrestrial empire."

Henry Busman, archbishop of Mayence, taking the part of Lewis of Bavaria, Clement VI pronounced his deposition, and appointed Geran a son of the count of Nassau, in his place; but Henry despised the sentence of the pope, and there was a schism in the church on this account eight years,

as long as Henry lived, each of the claimants exercising the spiritual and temporal power where they prevailed, and excommunicating each other. In fact they were at open war, and by plundering and burning places, the diocese suffered so much, that it did not recover in an age the losses of these eight years.

Lewis, however, continued in a state of contempt of the pope and his excommunications till his death, which was sudden, on the 11th of October A. D. 1347; and notwithstanding this, he was buried with great ceremony, as emperor, by his son Lewis marquis of Brandenburg. After his death Charles was soon universally acknowledged emperor, the other competitors making terms with him.

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#### SECTION IV.

##### *The History of the great Schism in the West.*

THE firm hold which the idea of the necessity of a head of the church had taken on the minds of the generality of Christians was never so strongly evidenced, as in the history of the great schism, which took place in the popedom on the death of Gregory XI. Had the sun in the firmament



ment been divided into two parts, the Christian world could not have been more disturbed. Indeed, in that state of mens minds, the evils which arose from the schism were very great; the violence of the parties against each other being excessive, and the exactions of the rival popes to augment their revenues and increase their power most oppressive; not to mention the many lives that were lost in the quarrel.

No schism was productive of so much evil as this. The competitors, not content with thundering their anathemas against each other, desolated Europe, and especially Italy, with their armies, and those of their partisans. There were treasons, poisonings, massacres, assassinations, furious battles, robberies, and piracies every where. This schism was also the occasion of civil wars in all the states of Christendom. For in the countries in which any of the competitors was generally acknowledged, there was always some city or community that held for the other; and frequently the same city and the same family was divided, so that there was no rest or safety any where. *L'Enfant's Pise*, Vol. 1. p. 50.

We see in the strongest light in this history, the influence of power on the mind of man. In almost all the cases of the death of any pope, choice was made of a successor, who promised the fairest

to be ready to resign his office, in order to promote the peace of the church; but in all the cases, from being apparently the most meek and unambitious of men, they proved to be the most tenacious of their power, and averse to every measure that tended to deprive them of it, notwithstanding the benefit that would manifestly have accrued to the church, and to the world, from their cession.

Many had been the attempts of the people of Rome to bring the popes from Avignon, where they had resided near a century, to their city. But, besides that they had all been Frenchmen, they found themselves more at their ease at a distance from that turbulent city, and their power in other respects was not diminished. At length, however, Urban V yielded to their importunity, and actually went to Rome, but he returned to Avignon before his death. \* Gregory XI, who also went thither,

\* On the 17th of April A. D. 1370 Urban V left Rome to go to Avignon, on the pretence of negotiating a peace between the kings of France and England, tho' St. Brigitte of Sweden, a woman in great fame for her sanctity, and the founder of a new order of nuns, confirmed by this pope, told him that his resolution was a foolish one, and he would never accomplish his journey. He arrived, however, at Avignon the 24th of September, but he died the 19th of December following, before he had proceeded so far as he had intended, in order to negotiate the peace.

thither, was determined to have returned, but he died before he could execute his resolution the 27th of March A. D. 1378.

At the time of his death there were sixteen cardinals at Rome, of whom four were Italians, six at Avignon, and one on a mission in Tuscany. Before they proceeded to the election of a successor to Gregory, the citizens of Rome made a strong remonstrance against their chusing any other than an Italian, representing to them, that during the residence of the popes at Avignon, the cities belonging to the church had revolted, the people having been oppressed by the officers, who were strangers, and the revenues of the church exhausted in wars to recover them; and that not only Rome, but all Italy, had suffered greatly by this means. While the cardinals were assembled in the conclave, the populace were exceedingly clamorous for a *Roman pope*, and after some debate they agreed in the choice of Bartholemi di Prignano, a native of Naples and archbishop of Bari; but as they had not chosen a native of Rome, they were afraid of the populace, and dispersed. However, the magistrates of the city, when they were informed of the election, were well satisfied with it, and waited upon the new pope to pay him their respects, tho', in this stage of the business, he refused any other appellation than that of archbishop

of Bari. On this, six of the cardinals, who had retired to the castle of St. Angelo, at the request of the magistrates, came to the palace, and joining five others, repeated the election for the greater safety. The new pope then accepted their nomination in the usual form, and was enthroned by the name of Urban VI. This was April 9th, A. D. 1379.

Urban is universally allowed to have been a man of an excellent private character, learned, devout, and a great enemy of simony, but too austere in his manners. On the 18th of April he was solemnly crowned with all the usual ceremonies, all the sixteen cardinals assisting: For the four who had gone out of Rome were returned; and for three months they all lived with Urban as pope. They, moreover, all joined in a letter to their brethren at Avignon, to inform them of their proceedings, and of their having unanimously elected Urban; and these, in their answer, acknowledged the election. Also he that was in Tuscany, coming to Rome joined the rest, and saluted Urban as pope; so that he was now expressly acknowledged by all the twenty-three cardinals of whom the college was composed.

It is probable, therefore, that the validity of his election would never have been disputed, if he had not given offence by the harshness of his man-

ners. Very soon, however, he offended many of the cardinals by his severe reproaches of them for their bad morals, and especially for leaving their proper churches, and residing at his court. But no resentment of this appeared till the middle of May, when thirteen of the cardinals went to Anagni, on the pretence of avoiding the great heats of Rome. But when they were there, they said, that the election of Urban was null, as having been made thro' force, and got Bernard de Sale, a Gascon captain then at Vitubo, to be their guard. He passing near Rome met with many who opposed him, and coming to an action, he routed them, killing about five hundred. He then proceeded to Anagni, while the people of Rome took their revenge on the French who were there, killing many of them. Also Joan queen of Naples sent two thousand horsemen and one hundred foot for the defence of the pope.

The cardinals at Anagni having now obtained a protection, on the 9th of August published a declaration against the validity of Urban's election. And on the 27th of the same month they went to Forli, where the three Italian cardinals joined them, each of the three, it is said, having been privately assured, that if he came, he would be elected. The other Italian cardinal being ill remained at Rome, where he soon after died. Fifteen cardinals

nals being now assembled, on the 20th of September, they made choice of Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. He was a man well versed in public business, and related to most of the great princes of Europe. The six cardinals of Avignon approved of this election; and on the 13th of November the king of France, tho' after much hesitation, but with the advice of his nobles and clergy, did the same. His party was also joined by Joan queen of Naples, tho' at the first she had approved of the election of Urban, who was still favoured by the people. The obedience of Urban comprehended a great part of Italy, Germany, England, the greatest part of the Low Countries, and Hungary. Spain continued some time undecided.

Clement, after his election, went to Naples; but being ill received by the people, he went by sea to France, and took up his residence at Avignon, where he was received with great joy; and then he published a bull against Urban, as Urban had before done against him, promising the same indulgence to those who should join in a crusade against him, as if they had gone to the holy land. This violence of the chiefs exasperated the partisans of both, and in consequence of it many prelates in the obedience of Urban were seized by the favourers of Clement, and some of them put to death.

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death. Several cities and castles in the kingdom of Naples and the ecclesiastical states were taken and destroyed, as also many churches and monasteries; and murders, pillages, and other crimes were without number. The Clementines suffered as much as the Urbanists. Many persons took their party through fear, and many sold their obedience for money or preferment, which of course produced the promotion of unworthy persons; and the same evils prevailed in both obediences. Open hostilities were, however, chiefly confined to Italy, which was divided between the two popes. On the 30th of April Urban got possession of the castle of St. Angelo, which till then had been held by the Clementines; and his partisans also gained a victory over the Gascons, and Britons in Italy, who supported the interest of Clement. These advantages were by many ascribed to the intercession of St. Catherine of Sienna, who exerted herself greatly in favour of Urban, and who, going to Rome a little before her death, exhorted the cardinals to continue firm to his interest.

Urban being exceedingly provoked at the conduct of the queen of Naples in deserting his interest, excommunicated her, absolved all her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and declared all her goods confiscated. To execute these threats, he invited Charles duke of Duras to take posses-

on of her kingdom; and as he was in want of money, the pope sold a great part of the patrimony of the church, and the monasteries in Rome, to the amount of eighty thousand florins. He also sold the gold and silver chalices, crosses, images of saints, and other valuable things belonging to churches. But he obliged Charles to give his nephew Francis di Prignano many valuable estates in his kingdom. In order to guard herself against this formidable invasion, the queen adopted Lewis duke of Anjou, and invited him to come to her assistance. But before his arrival Charles got possession of Naples, seized her person, and soon after put her to death.

On the 19th of May A. D. 1380 the king of Castile, after much deliberation, declared for Clement; but upon condition that he should appoint only natives of Castile to any benefices in his kingdom, not reserve to his own use the revenues or goods of dying prelates, and exact no tenths, or pecuniary subsidies. Urban hearing of this defection of the king of Castile, published a violent bull against him, excommunicating him, deposing him, and even ordering him to be kept a close prisoner. He also published a crusade against him, with the usual indulgences. In this bull, which was published the 28th of March A. D. 1382, Gregory says that he exhausted all the most rigorous



clauses of the Roman chancellry. And as Lewis of Anjou marched with an army against Charles, Urban also published a crusade against him in the usual terms. These measures, however, had little effect. Some troops were indeed raised in England with the tenths of the church livings, and the command of them was given to the bishop of Norwich; but instead of marching against the French, who were the chief supporters of Clement, he attacked the Flemings, tho' they were Urbanists as well as the English, and being opposed by the French, he returned without effecting any thing.

Urban, dissatisfied with the conduct of Charles, chiefly because he did not put his nephew into the possession of the places he had agreed to give him, went to Naples, tho' against the advice of all his friends; and because some of the cardinals did not chuse to accompany him, he published a violent bull against them, threatening to deprive them of their dignities if they did not soon follow him. The pope, however, soon found reason to repent of the step that he had taken. For tho' outwardly Charles shewed him all respect, when he arrived in Naples, he in effect kept him a prisoner, as well as his nephew, who was a man wholly abandoned to vice. While he was in Naples at this time, he took by force a nun of St. Clair, and kept her at his lodgings; and when the pope

was

was told of his disorders, he apologized for him, as a young man, tho' he was then more than forty years old. For this outrage, however, the king had him condemned to die; but the pope interceding for him, he was not only pardoned, but a peace being made between them, he married a relation of the king.

The duke of Anjou found himself unable to effect any thing against Charles. For not being able to bring him to a battle, his army perished by sickness or small skirmishes; and at length he himself died of chagrin the 20th of September, leaving his pretensions on the kingdom of Naples to his son Lewis who was scarce eight years old.

Charles, having now no rival in Italy, kept no measures with the pope. They were at open variance, and had no communication together, the pope chusing to reside at Nocera, when the king wished to have him at Naples. Thither, however, he at length thought proper to go, tho' not long after he returned. The cardinals urged the pope to make his peace with the king; and not succeeding, some of them formed a scheme to deprive him of his power. But he being informed of it, put six of them into close custody. Being tortured by his nephew, they confessed the crime, and the pope deprived them of their dignities and confiscated their goods. Afterwards he in a particularly solemn

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lemn manner on the 15th of January A. D. 1385, excommunicated not only them, but Charles. Clement, his cardinals, and all who adhered to him.

This violent conduct of the pope provoked the king to send troops to Nocera, who plundered the villages in the neighbourhood, and seized all they could of the pope's friends. They then took the city by assault, and besieged the pope in the castle, which however he held seven months.

Raimond de Beauce coming with an army to the relief of the pope, a consistory was held in his presence, in which the cardinals who were prisoners were told, that if they would freely confess their crime, they would be forgiven; but persisting in asserting their innocence, they were kept in prison, where they suffered most dreadfully by hunger, thirst, cold, and vermin. Not satisfied with this cruelty, the pope had them put to the torture once more, but without producing any confession. After this the king promised a reward to any person who would bring the pope alive or dead, and the cardinals who were of Naples, shocked at his violence, wrote to the clergy at Rome; saying, that his conduct was the principal cause of the schism, and proposing to meet them, in order to take measures for putting an end to it, but this had no effect.

By

By the assistance of Raymond, Urban left Nocera August 8th, A. D. 1385, and carried his prisoners along with him ; but one of them not being able to travel fast enough, in consequence of what he had suffered by the torture, he was by the pope's order put to death. In galleys sent by the Genoese he went first to Sicily, and then to Genoa, where he arrived September the 3d. When he was here, several attempts having been made to deliver the six cardinals, some by force, and some by intreaty, he dismissed one of them, but caused the five others to be put to death in December 6th, A. D. 1386, and soon after this he left Genoa, and went to Lucca, where he continued nine months.

In this year Urban was relieved from one of his enemies. For king Charles, having succeeded to the kingdom of Hungary, went thither, and was there murdered by the order of Elizabeth, the widow of his predecessor, who had the government of the kingdom after the death of her husband. Urban, however, was not benefited by this event. For on the death of Charles the party of Lewis of Anjou, who were in the interest of Clement, got the upper hand in Naples, queen Margaret retiring to Gaeta.

At this time Urban was at Lucca, where he was urged by some of the princes of Germany to have a conference with Clement, in order to unite  
the

the church. But he was so far from listening to the proposal, that on the 29th of August A. D. 1387, he published a new bull, addressed to the bishops, in which he exhorted all Catholic princes to join against Clement, promising plenary indulgences as in the wars of the holy land. This, however, produced nothing in his favour, and Charles king of Navarre, who always kept himself neuter, dying the 1st of January A. D. 1387, his son declared for Clement, as also did John king of Arragon on the death of his father Peter, the fifth of the same month, so that now the whole of Spain, except Portugal, was in his obedience.

Clement discovered a better disposition than Urban. For in November A. D. 1387 he sent ambassadors to the people of Florence, desiring that they would procure the calling of a general council, in order to heal the schism in the church; promising that if he should be declared pope, he would make Urban a cardinal, and that if Urban should have the preference, he would be at his mercy. But they declined interfering in the business, as they said it belonged to the sovereign princes to call such a council, and continued in the obedience of Urban. He, pretending that the kingdom of Naples was devolved to him, on the death of king Charles, set out for that kingdom; but falling from his horse, and also not having money to pay

the troops that accompanied him, he was obliged to go to Rome, which he entered in the beginning of October, and where he died two days after.

The friends of Clement, who was a much younger man than Urban, had flattered themselves that the schism would end with his life. But in this they were greatly disappointed. For on the 2d of November the cardinals of Urban chose Peter Tomacelli, the cardinal of Naples, for his successor; and he took the name of Boniface IX. He was a man who spake well, but not understanding grammar, he could not write any thing; and being ignorant of the business of the court of Rome, he often signed what was presented to him without understanding it. As to the schism, there was no prospect of any termination of it; as the two popes fulminated bulls against each other, with equal violence, but equally without effect.

Boniface finding himself unable to support the war that Urban had undertaken for the conquest of Naples, admitted the claim of Ladislas the son of Charles Duras, then seventeen years old, and absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures. Lewis of Anjou, however, having embarked at Marseilles, took possession of Naples, and on the 10th of April gained a considerable advantage over the party of Ladislas, whom Boniface supported at a great expence; so that his finances being exhausted, he sold  
estates.

estates belonging to the church, as his predecessor had done in support of the father. He also ordered to be paid into the apostolic chamber half the fruits of the first year of all the benefices in the gift of the holy see. \* Clement also, being in the same want of money, exacted a tenth of all the church livings in France, and even of the revenues of the university of Paris, which, tho' with much reluctance, was paid. He was also the first who attempted to introduce into France the custom of seizing the goods of deceased bishops and abbots, and the revenues of churches and monasteries during a vacancy. But Charles VI prevented it. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 232.

In A. D. 1392 two Carthusians were sent by Boniface to Clement, and to the king of France, to propose an union. Clement refused to give them a hearing; but at length they obtained one from the king, who promised to do every thing in his power to promote it. Upon this the university of Paris took up the question, and procured several memorials to be drawn up about the best methods of putting an end to the schism. These were re-

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duced

\* It is said that Boniface made *annates* perpetual, as inseparably attached to the church of Rome; whereas his predecessors had required them only on particular occasions and pretences, and as a free gift. *L'Essai de l'Écriture*, p. 101.

duced to three, viz. the cession of both the popes, a compromise between them, or a general council. But nothing would satisfy Boniface short of the expulsion of Clement.

From this time the members of the university took up the business with great zeal, and in a long discourse drawn up by Nicolas de Clemangis, represented the state of the case to the king, drawing an affecting picture of the evils that arose from the schism, such as the prevalence of simony, in consequence of which the most unworthy persons were raised to ecclesiastical dignities, intolerable exactions on the ministers of religion, the sale of relics, crosses, and every thing of value belonging to churches, the sale even of the sacraments themselves, especially that of penance, the diminution of divine service, the contempt of the church by Mahometans, and the encouragement of heretics. But the cardinal de Luna, sent as a legate by Clement, and who did not wish for a termination of the schism, managed in such a manner that the king forbade the university to proceed any farther in the affairs. The discourse, however, being sent to Clement, gave him great disturbance. From this time he was observed to be extremely dejected, and pensive, and soon after, being seized with an apoplexy, he died on the 16th of September A. D. 1394.



On this event the university, and the king of France, did every thing in their power to prevent the election of another pope; but the cardinals, being determined upon it, would not open the king's letters that were sent for the purpose, well knowing the purport of them. However, before they proceeded to the election, they all took an oath that in case of their election they would do every thing that should be in their power to promote the union of the church, tho' it should require their cession, if the cardinals should think that measure expedient. After this they unanimously chose Peter de Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII; he having always expressed the greatest zeal for the union, and having blamed Clement for not being in earnest about it. After his election he continued to express the same zeal for the extinction of the schism, whatever might be the sacrifice with respect to himself. But the whole of his subsequent conduct shewed that this was mere hypocrisy, and Boniface was as little desirous of the termination of the schism as himself, except by bringing the whole christian world to his obedience.

The king and his council, seeing much time lost in deputations and embassies, convoked a great assembly at Paris for the 2d of February A. D 1395. More than six hundred prelates were sum-

moned, and many attended. It continued a month, and at the conclusion of it the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the king's uncles, and the duke of Orleans, were deputed to wait upon Benedict, to request that he would fix upon one of the three methods of promoting the union proposed by the university, and recommending that of cession. Accordingly they waited upon him ; but all that he would promise was, that he was ready to confer with Boniface and his cardinals on the subject. The cardinals approved of the method of cession. The same was also more strongly recommended by the university of Paris, from which a letter was addressed to all the other universities in Europe on the subject ; but the university of Oxford recommended a general council.

The court of France was far from being satisfied with the conduct of Benedict ; and the university seeing him to be inflexible, advised the withdrawing of obedience from him, and drew up a solemn act of appeal from his censure to a future pope. This provoked Benedict to publish a bull, in which he declared that appeal to be null, as being contrary to that plenitude of power which St. Peter and his successors had received from Christ, and the sacred canons, which forbade any appeal from the holy see. He also threatened to proceed farther against them as their violence might deserve,

deserve. The university then applied to the cardinals, and drew up a second act of appeal.

In January A. D. 1396, ambassadors from several of the princes in the obedience of Boniface waited upon him, to persuade him to adopt the method of cession, and consent to a new election; assuring him that Benedict would do the same. But he was no less obstinate than his antagonist; replying that he was indubitably pope, and would not renounce his dignity on any consideration. In A. D. 1398 he received a deputation from princes in both obediences, the king of France, together with the emperor sending Peter D' Arlli archbishop of Cambray to persuade him to consent to a new election. But having advised with his cardinals, he would return no other answer than that when Benedict had resigned, he would act in such a manner as should give them satisfaction.

On the 5th of June this year another great assembly of prelates and doctors met at Paris, when it was agreed to withdraw all obedience from both the popes; making provision for the disposal of benefices, and the receipt of such sums as had been usually paid to the pope; and the cardinals of Benedict concurred in this measure. But when this resolution, to which the court acceded, was signified to this pontiff, he declared that he would keep his dignity until his death; and when the marshal

of Beaucicourt was sent to compel him to resign, and get possession of the city of Avignon, he stood a siege in the place the whole winter, having before hand made provision for such an event; and he persisted in this resolution, tho' many persons about him died of the wounds they received, and for want of victuals and medicines. At length the king of Castile also withdrawing his obedience from him, he agreed to the terms proposed by the king of France, which were to renounce the pontificate in case that Boniface should do the same, or die, or be deposed, provided that protection should be given to himself and his friends. He was not, however, permitted to leave the palace till the union should be accomplished.

Boniface was not treated with the same severity, and being in want of money to support himself and Ladislas, he sold every thing that was in his gift. He moreover claimed, as a perpetual right, the first fruits of all church livings, and the revenues of monasteries, whether the persons to whom they were given lived to take possession of them or not. Sometimes he sold the same benefice to two persons, and in order to render useless the expectative graces which he had given, he gave the same over again with a later date, but with a clause of preference; so that for a long time no person would buy of him. He afterwards recalled all his expectative

expectative graces, even those which had the clause of preference, and likewise all his plenary indulgences for the jubilee or the holy land, and all dispensations to the mendicants to hold church livings. But this was only a pretence for granting fresh graces, and getting more money. He was the more straitened when, on the death of Charles IV, he lost the obedience of Bohemia, by opposing the election of Winceſlas, and also that of Hungary, in consequence of crowning Ladislas king of Naples.

Benedict continued four years in his palace at Avignon. But in A. D. 1403 he made his escape, and many of the people of that part of the country taking his part, his cardinals did the same, asking his pardon on their knees for their desertion of him. In these advantageous circumstances he sent two of the cardinals to the king, and he, on farther deliberation, and finding that Boniface retained the obedience of all his friends, he thought proper to return to his. But he would not permit the pope to make any new disposition, which he insisted upon, of the benefices which had been conferred while the obedience was withdrawn. In this state of things Benedict, willing to shew that the continuance of the schism was not his fault, sent an embassy to Boniface. But tho' this pope gave the ambassadors a hearing, he was so much irritated by

it, that, added to the stone by which he had suffered much, he took his bed, and died October 1st, A. D. 1404.

This was another opportunity of closing the schism. But notwithstanding the remonstrances of the legates of Benedict, and of the king of France, the cardinals proceeded to a new election; when they chose Cosmas de Meliorati, a native of Salmona, then very old, who took the name of Innocent VII. However, previous to the election, all the cardinals took an oath to do every thing in their power to promote the union of the church, tho' it should require them to renounce the pontificate.

The people of Rome discovering some jealousy with respect to their privileges, Innocent, to prevent any dispute with them, made them several concessions; but as they made new demands, he was obliged to arm in his own defence, and his captains seizing some of the heads of the opposition, and putting them to death, the people rose upon the courtiers, plundered their houses, and appeared in such great force that the pope fled to Viterbo. But the pope himself not having had any hand in the murders, the people afterwards relented in his favour; and giving up to him the seigniory of Rome, he returned to the city in March A. D. 1405.

For the purpose of having a conference with Innocent, Benedict went to Genoa in May; but the plague coming into that city, he returned to Marseilles. Both the popes published writings in their own vindication, throwing the blame of the continuance of the schism on each other, but neither of them was really willing to put an end to it, when Innocent died suddenly the 6th of November A. D. 1406. This opportunity, however, of closing the schism was lost, as well as all the former, by the cardinals again proceeding to a election. As usual, however, they all took an oath that the person chosen should resign if the antipope should resign, or die; and then they chose Angelo Corrario, a Venetian, who took the name of Gregory XII. He was a man of an excellent character, and who, as soon as he was chosen, expressed the most earnest desire to close the schism; saying he would go to any place of conference for that purpose, tho' it should be on foot, or in the smallest bark. His letters to Benedict and the princes of Europe expressed the same resolution; but his subsequent conduct by no means corresponded to his declarations. This, however, L. Aretine, his secretary, ascribed not so much to himself, as to those about him, who had an interest in his retaining his power.

In A. D. 1406 the parliament of Paris, after a long debate on the subject, once more determined to withdraw all obedience from Benedict; and that in the mean time the church should be governed as it had been during the former subtraction. At the same time, agreeably to the advice of the university, the king declared that a general council should be called for the reformation of the church in the head and the members. This is the first mention of this object, which afterwards engaged so much of the attention of the christian world, an object that was always kept in view by the friends of religion, but always defeated by the management of those who were interested in the continuance of the abuses.

In consequence of the resolution of the parliament of Paris, ambassadors were sent to Benedict; but having the liberty to act according to circumstances, they determined not to inform him of the decree of subtraction, lest it should prevent the proposed interview between the two popes, tho' the king perceived nothing but evasion in the conversation they had with him. At length Savona was the place fixed upon for the conference, and every precaution was taken to make it safe for both the parties. But Gregory, tho' at first so zealous for the union, absolutely refused, on a variety of idle pretences, to go to the place; and tho' the am-  
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bassadors of the king of France answered all his objections, and offered themselves as hostages for his safety; they could not prevail upon him. Unable to gain any thing from Gregory, they then applied to the senators of Rome, and the cardinals; and these promised that, in case of his death, they would not proceed to a new election, till both the colleges were united.

In the mean time Benedict, being informed of the scheme of subtraction, drew up a bull of excommunication and interdict against all who should concur in that measure; and perceiving that Gregory declined the proposed interview at Savona, he went thither, and professed his readiness to go to any other place that should be fixed upon. Gregory now unable altogether to recede from his repeated professions, went first to Viterbo, where he stayed three weeks, and then to Sienna where he continued the rest of the year, amusing his cardinals with a proposal of cession, on condition that during his life he should have the title of patriarch of Constantinople, hold the bishoprick of Moden and Croton in the state of Venice, a priory which he had held in commendam before he was elected pope, and the archbishoprick of York in England. At length, however, he went to Lucca; but tho' Benedict was then advanced as far as Porto Venere, and informed him that he would

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not wait any longer, Gregory only answered in terms of reproach for not coming to Pisa or Leghorn, which he had proposed, instead of Savona. Being at this time farther encouraged by Ladislas taking possession of Rome, he openly refused every overture for a compromise; and because a Carmelite exhorted him to it in a public sermon, he not only put him in prison for his presumption, but ordered that for the future no person should preach before him till the sermon had been examined. This conduct, so very different from what he had given them reason to expect from him, gave so much offence to his cardinals that they left him and went to Pisa, where they signified their appeal to a general council. In answer to this, Gregory, tho' attended only by his four new cardinals, excommunicated them all, and deprived them of their dignities. But they made light of his censures, and in a public writing treated him as a schismatic, a heretic, and a forerunner of Antichrist, and moreover loaded him with every kind of personal abuse.

On the publication of the bull of Benedict in A. D. 1408, the king and parliament of France ordered it to be torn in pieces, and confirmed the subtraction of their obedience. At the same time they made an application to the cardinals of Gregory, without knowing what they had done, to  
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join them in an appeal to a general council. Benedict hearing of this, and that the king had given orders to seize his person, durst not return to France ; but went by sea to Perpignan, where he called a council to meet that year ; and as four of his old cardinals had left him to join those of Gregory at Pisa, he created five others in their place. Now again both the popes appealed to the world, laying the blame of the continuance of the schism on their adversaries ; and to counteract the effect of the council called by Benedict, Gregory appointed one for the year following in the province of Aquileia ; but not daring to return to Rome, where the people were irritated against him on account of his connection with Ladislas, he went to Sienna, where, however, he could not stay long.

The cardinals of Benedict, to the number of eight, having joined those of Gregory, appointed a council to meet at Pisa, to which they summoned both the popes, whose conduct they censured with much severity ; and in the mean time the clergy of France, in a national council, made regulations for the government of their church. There was at this time much difference of opinion in so new a state of things, about the power, and the mode, of calling a general council, now that this measure appeared evidently necessary, without

the concurrence of any pope. But in a solemn consultation at Bologna and Florence, it was agreed, that it must be done by the cardinals of both obediences. And what had more weight, this scheme was approved by the ambassadors from France, Sicily, Portugal, England, Hungary, and Poland, who were by this time assembled at Pisa. The Venetians also declared for it. Gregory, as might have been expected, protested against it, but without any effect. Till the meeting of the proposed council, cardinal Balthazar Cossa, who had been appointed vicar of the church by both the colleges, forbade the acknowledgment of either of the popes. At the same time Gregory's nephew, the bishop of Bologna, was driven from that city, and even in Rome itself no person called Gregory pope.

Benedict having made no reply to the first summons of his cardinals, they wrote to him again; but, in answer, he summoned them to attend his council at Perpignan, which met at All Saints, and was well attended by prelates from Spain, and even from France, notwithstanding the guards that were placed to prevent any person going thither from that country. These prelates, however, differing about the best method of restoring the peace of the church, they all left the place, except eighteen, who advised the sending of legates to Pisa, and to agree to the measure that should be adopted

adopted there. To this Benedict consented, and accordingly he appointed seven legates from seven different nations. As to Gregory, he could not find any place in which to hold his council.

About this time the people of Liege being divided between bishops appointed by each of the two popes, one of them retired to Maëstricht, where he was besieged by his rival with an army consisting of fifty thousand men; but he was relieved by the duke of Burgundy with another army, and a battle being fought, not less than thirty-six thousand men were killed on the spot, and among them the bishop himself and his father, who were found among the slain, holding each other by the hand. This calamitous event had the good effect to alarm all Germany, and to quicken their proceedings to put an end to the schism; and for this purpose a great assembly was held at Frankfort, where deputies from the cardinals at Pisa attended, and where it was agreed to approve of that council, tho' the emperor was adverse to it.

On the 25th of March A. D. 1409 the council of Pisa was opened. It was then attended by twenty-two cardinals, twelve archbishops in person, and fourteen by deputies, eighty bishops, and the deputies of one hundred and two more, ninety abbots, the deputies of one hundred others, the procurers of two hundred more abbeys, forty-one

priors, the generals of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines, the grandmaster of Rhodes, and those of the other military orders, the deputies of all the universities, and those of more than an hundred cathedral churches, more than three hundred doctors of theology, and canon law, and by ambassadors from almost all the princes of Europe. The cardinal of Poitiers presided.

After the usual solemn forms of opening the council, the two popes were summoned, and neither of them appearing, they were, in the third session, (March 30th) declared to be contumacious. At that time, in answer to those who said that a council could not be called without a pope, Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, delivered a discourse, in which he shewed that the unity of the church consisted in Christ its head; and that if there be no vicar, in consequence of his natural or civil death, the church has a right to chuse an indubitable one, and that nothing is due to an usurper, a heretic, or a schismatic.

The fourth session was attended by many other persons of consequence, some of them from a great distance, as the archbishop of Riga, some from Jerusalem, others from Sicily, the cardinal Landolf from his embassy to Germany, and many more doctors of theology and law from France and Italy. A question

question having arisen about the power of the newly made cardinals, it was said that, in all cases of the election of a pope, the cardinals have a right to consult with whom they please, and to give them a right of voting; that the same was done in provincial councils, and that they who have embraced a neutrality are more proper judges in the case than those who adhere to one or other of the opponents. However, the ambassadors of the emperor Robert maintained that it belonged to the emperor only to call a general council, and appealing to a future one, properly called, they departed. At the fifth session, April 24th, there arrived ambassadors from England, from the duke of Burgundy, the count of Holland; and many others.

In the fifth session, June 5, the council, after examining every thing relating to the schism, declared both Benedict and Gregory notorious schismatics, heretics, and guilty of perjury, that they had scandalized the whole church by their obstinacy, that they were fallen from their dignity, and separated from the church; and they therefore forbade all the faithful, under pain of excommunication, acknowledging or favouring them. And on the 26th they unanimously chose Peter Philargi, of the isle of Candia, a Franciscan, who took the name of Alexander V, who immediately confirmed all that had been done in the council, and

united all the cardinals in one college. He also appointed another general council for the reformation of the church in its head and its members, for April A. D. 1412; after this, the council closed the 27th of July.

The proceedings of this council did not extinguish the schism. For, besides that many persons questioned its authority, the two former popes were still acknowledged, Benedict in the kingdoms of Arragon, Castile, and Scotland, and Gregory by king Ladislas, and some cities of Italy; so that there were now three popes, instead of two. The emperor Robert also declared against Alexander, on account of his giving the title of king of the Romans to Winceflas, when he had been several years deposed.

Both Benedict and Gregory created new cardinals, and the latter now held his council at Udina, on Whitsuntide A. D. 1409; and tho' very few persons attended it, he declared the election of Alexander, as well as that of all the popes at Avignon, unlawful. He promised, however, to resign his dignity if the two other popes would do the same; and if Robert king of the Romans, Ladislas king of Naples, and Sigismond king of Hungary, would jointly call another council. This was universally considered as an evasion; since those three princes were at variance, and therefore  
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not likely to agree in any measure of the kind. The Venetians being more particularly offended at his conduct, and having given orders for apprehending him, he fled in disguise to Gaieta in the dominions of Ladislas. On this Alexander published a bull against Ladislas for keeping up the schism, and by means of his legate, Balthazar Coffa, he drove him out of Rome.

Alexander was far from making the reformation that were expected of him in his court, and in all respects he conducted himself in a very imprudent manner, being governed intirely by Balthazar Coffa, who was supposed to have procured his death by a poisoned clyster at Bologna, whither he had persuaded him to go, contrary to the earnest request of the people of Rome. He dying however, May 13th, A. D. 1410, Balthazar Coffa was chosen to succeed him, and he took the name of John XXIII. He was a man of the most profligate morals, and was said to have gained his election by bribing some of the cardinals, and threatening others; but his elevation was chiefly owing to the recommendation of Lewis of Anjou, the opponent of Ladislas.

In A. D. 1411 John summoned a general council to meet at Rome in April the year following, for the reformation of the church, and to oppose

Ladiflas and Gregory. \* But soon after this he made his peace with Ladiflas, acknowledging him king of Naples, tho' he had before admitted the claims of Lewis of Anjou. For a sum of money Ladiflas had agreed to abandon Gregory, making, however, some stipulations in his favour. On this Gregory retired to Rimini, where he was protected by Charles Malatesta, who never abandoned him.

As the council called by John was not well attended, in consequence of Ladiflas opposing it, it was presently dissolved, or rather prorogued, and no place or time was fixed for its meeting again.

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\* A laughable circumstance is said to have happened at a council held by John XXIII at Rome, in A. D. 1412. An owl flew from some obscure corner of the church, and seated itself in the middle of the dome, with its eyes fixed on the pope. At this some were terrified, as at an unlucky omen, and others laughed, saying the Holy Ghost appeared in a strange shape; while the pope changed colour, and was so discomposed, that he broke up the assembly. However, at the next session the owl appeared again, and, as before, fixed its eyes on the pope; when by his order, the prelates left their seats to drive away the owl, and at length it was killed. This is related by Clemangis as certainly true, tho' the fact is questioned by others. *L'Enfant's Pise*, Vol. 2. p. 96.

It now appeared that Ladislas had only amused the pope with a treaty, while he took the opportunity of seizing and plundering the city of Rome, in consequence of which John, who had made himself odious by his exactions, fled to Florence, from which place he addressed letters to all the princes of Europe, to acquaint them with his situation. Not thinking himself safe in Florence, he went to Bologna, and in the mean time he negotiated with the emperor Sigismund about the calling of another general council, as the only effectual remedy for the evils of the church. For this purpose, in his public instructions he gave his legates unlimited powers to agree with the emperor on the place where it should be held, tho' he instructed them privately to object to certain places that were too much in the power of the emperor. This prince fixed upon Constance, and the legates, having full powers, acquiesced in the nomination, tho' that was a city of the empire, and on this account the pope was exceedingly mortified. He had afterwards a conference with the emperor at Lodi, but not being able to prevail upon him to fix upon any other place, he summoned the council in the usual forms, to meet there on the first of November A. D. 1414.

In the mean time John was relieved from the persecution of Ladislas by the death of that prince,

who when he was in pursuit of him, on the way to Bologna, fell sick, and returning to Naples, died there on the 16th of August A. D. 1414. The pope having now no wish to call any council, he was very unwilling to go to Constance ; but his cardinals encouraging him, and having taken every precaution for his safety, especially the assurance of protection from the archduke of Austria, he set out, and arrived there on the 28th of October. At this time there were in that city not less than thirty thousand horses belonging to persons who were come to attend the council, and many more arrived afterwards.

This famous council was opened on the 15th of November, when John and his friends were very desirous of beginning with a confirmation of the council of Pisa, on which his authority depended. But the French prelates insisted upon it that the council of Pisa having failed of answering its end, which was to promote the union of the church, they were not bound its decrees, and that the authority of the present council was independent of it. This was particularly urged by Peter D'Ailli the cardinal and archbishop of Cambray. This was the first circumstance unfavourable to John, and several others followed. On the 24th of December the emperor, who was by no means his friend, arrived, and by his means such excellent regu-

regulations were made, that tho' there were not fewer than a hundred thousand strangers in the city, there was no disorder attending it, and the price of every thing was moderate.

It was another mortification to John, that the ambassadors of Benedict and Gregory, who were now arrived, were, by the advice of the cardinal of Cambray, and of the emperor, received with every mark of respect. Those of Gregory said that their master would resign if Benedict and John would do the same, and the elector-Palatine added for him, that he would do any thing to promote the union, provided that John did not preside in the council, and was not present at it. This John rejected absolutely, as, in the character of pope, he had convoked the council, and was there in person, for the purpose of reforming the church.

Had John been a man of a respectable character, he had so much the advantage of his antagonists in the authority of the council of Pisa, and the selfish avarice of his competitors, that he would easily have stood his ground; but the infamy of his conduct was his ruin. There were several meetings of the cardinals and other persons at which John was not present, and in these great liberties were taken with his character, and his cession, as well as that of his opponents, was recommended, as the best method of promoting the union. Two other

circumstances relating to the conduct of the council deprived him of all influence in it, and put him wholly in the power of his enemies. It was agreed that secular doctors, and other laymen, should have votes in the council, and not the prelates only; and what was still more against him, it was agreed that the votes should be by nations, and not by individuals, tho' this had never been practiced before.

Those who were bent upon his expulsion also drew up a long list of accusations against him, containing, as Theodoric de Niem says, all the mortal sins, and an infinity of abominations besides. They were, however, unwilling, as they said, to produce it, and much approved the mode of voluntary cession. At length John, perceiving their object, and their power, after several attempts to make a conditional cession, to avoid the disgrace of a formal condemnation, on account of his vices, was induced to make an absolute one; but, as he refused to do it in the form of a bull, he was suspected of a design to make his escape, and measures were taken to prevent it. However, by the assistance of the duke of Austria, he eluded their vigilance, and went to Schaffhausen, whence he wrote to the emperor and the college of cardinals, assuring them that he had not come thither to evade his promise to cede the pontificate, but to give it the appearance of being more free. Not-

Notwithstanding the flight of the pope, the emperor encouraged the council to proceed, and Gerson delivered a discourse to prove that a council is superior to the pope, and may act without him. Accordingly it was decreed that, being lawfully convened, they would not discontinue their sittings till the schism was extinct, and the church reformed in its head and its members. It soon appeared that the pope had no intention to resign, and the cardinals shewed a disposition to favour his prerogatives; but the council, voting by nations, adhered to their purpose.

The emperor being at war with the duke of Austria, to whom Schaffhausen belonged, John was afraid to continue there, and went to Lauffenburg; and there, in the presence of a notary, and a few witnesses, he protested against all that he had done at Constance, as done under constraint; tho' at the same time he continued in public to declare the contrary. Upon this the council, in their fourth session, asserted their right to act independently of him, and that all persons, the popes not excepted, were obliged to obey them, that John had no power to remove the council or its officers, and that whatever he should do to the prejudice of the council in his absence, was null.

The duke of Austria, the protector of John, being put under the ban of the empire, the pope fled

fled to Friburgh, and thence he wrote to the emperor, promising to cede the pontificate, provided he might be perpetual cardinal legate of the whole church, that he might enjoy for his life the territory of Bologna, and the county of Avignon, a pension of thirty thousand florins, and give no account of his conduct. This extravagant proposal convincing the council that he was not to be treated with, they addressed a letter to all the princes and states, justifying their own conduct, and accusing him. They sent, however, a deputation to him, requiring him to return to the council, or send a bull of resignation, being determined, in case of his refusal, to proceed against him as a schismatic, and a heretic. The deputies found him at Brisac, and he promised to give them an answer the next day; but in the night he retired to Neuenburg, a place in the neighbourhood; but the commandant of the place obliged him to return to Brisac; and then, after having an interview with the duke of Austria, and other friends, and finding that it was not in their power to support him, he gave the count Berthold de Ursin a writing, in which he signified his resignation in the proper form, but with express orders not to deliver it till he received another order for that purpose.

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On the return of the deputies, the council perceived that John meant nothing but to amuse them, and the duke of Austria having made his peace with the emperor, John saw that he must provide for his safety in the best manner that he could. He therefore gave the count his final orders to deliver his bull of cession. But his proposals were so extravagant, that they paid no attention to it, and issued another citation for him to appear before them in their next session, the 4th of May. They then sent the burgrave of Nuremberg to take the charge of him. Witnesses were then formally examined against him, and in their tenth session May 14th he was declared a dissipator of the goods of the church, a simoniac, a scandalous person, a disturber of the faith, and as such suspended from the government of the church, both in temporals and spirituals.

Not content with this, in order to his deposition, articles of accusation consisting of seventy heads, were drawn up against him, confirmed by the oaths of thirty-seven witnesses, among whom were ten bishops. Among other things he was accused of poisoning his predecessor Alexander V, of having committed adultery, fornication, incest, and every crime of impurity; of having sold benefices, exercised an intolerable tyranny at Bologna, and despised the offices of religion; and on these  
accounts

accounts he was judged to be altogether unworthy of the pontificate.

In the mean time John, not having been prevailed upon to attend the council, had been conducted to Ratolfall, where two legates from the council informed him of the decree for his suspension. He received it with marks of humility, and submission, as he did that of his deposition, which was sent to him some time after; professing his readiness to resign the pontificate, whenever the council pleased. He only begged that, in their final sentence, they would respect his honour, his person, and his estate. After this he was conducted to the fortress of Gottleben, where John Hus was at that time a prisoner; and of all his domestics only his cook was allowed to attend him. From this place he was conducted to Heidelberg.

As Gregory expressed his willingness to resign, but not to acknowledge the council, as not having been canonically convened, in the fourteenth session it was called in his name, and the emperor presided, when his resignation was solemnly made in his name by his friend Charles de Malatesta. After this he was appointed to be the first of the cardinals, and perpetual legate of the march of Ancona, in which he continued till his death, two years after.

The

The conduct of Benedict furnishes such an example of obstinacy as hardly occurs in the history of the human mind. Persisting in his refusal to acknowledge the council, or renounce the pontificate, he was declared to be a notorious schismatic, and all the faithful were required to withdraw their obedience from him. Having, however, some respect for his private character, and wishing to close the schism in the best and most effectual manner, the emperor himself was appointed to meet and confer with him at Perpignan, and there he arrived the 18th of September A. D. 1415. But Benedict, who had been there from the month of June, had left the place, and refused to return. He sent, however, some proposals, among which was the calling of another council, in which, after being acknowledged to be pope, he would depose himself, on condition that he should be continued cardinal legate a latere, with full power, spiritual and temporal, in the whole extent of his obedience, and that the new council should begin with cancelling all that had been done against him at Pisa.

These terms were deemed to be so extravagant, that there was no thought of acceding to them, and even the kings who had hitherto continued in his obedience, shocked at his obstinacy, now abandoned him. On this he retired first to Collicure, and thence to Paniscola, a strong place near the sea,

sea, and not far from Tortosa; deserted by all his cardinals, except those of his own family: In this sequestered place, at the age of eighty, he fulminated his bulls against the council of Constance, and the king of Arragon; threatening him with taking away the crown that he had given him; and on their proceeding farther against him at the council, he threatened that, if they gave him any more disturbance, he would put the church into such a state as that it should never be able to recover itself. These and other instances of his obstinacy, and his breach of promise, in not resigning when his opponents did, were recited in the act of his condemnation. Notwithstanding this, on being summoned for the last time, he treated the deputies with great haughtiness, and declared all the members of the council heretics, favourers of schism, and subject to all the penalties to which such persons were sentenced. After due attention to all the requisite forms, sentence of deposition was at length pronounced against him in the thirty seventh session, the 26th of July A. D. 1417, as a promoter of schism, a heretic, &c.

Having now disposed of all the three popes the cardinals, after many solemn preliminaries proceeded to a new election, when they chose the Colonna, of the antient family of Colonna a cardinal deacon, who took the name of Martin

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The emperor then entered the conclave, and kissed his feet, and the ceremony of crowning him immediately followed. \*

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\* This council prescribed a confession of faith for future popes, and it may be seen in *L'Enfant's History of the council*, Vol. 2. p. 125. In the early times it was the custom of bishops, at least those of the greater sees, to send to their brother bishops a confession of their faith; and these were various, according to the heresies that prevailed at the time. But this custom had been discontinued from A. D. 1294, when it is said that Boniface VIII gave one. The discontinuance was probably owing to the idea of the superiority of the popes to all councils, the authority of which had always been recognized in the confessions. The superiority of councils to the pope was clearly asserted on this occasion. In the seventh session it was decreed that "every person of what dignity soever, even the papal, was obliged to obey the council in what respects the faith, the extinction of schism, and the reformation of the church in its head and its members; and that whoever disobeys it, tho' it should be the pope, should be punished according to the law." *L'Enfant's Constance*, Vol. 2. p. 227. The custom of crowning the pope cannot be traced higher than the thirteenth century. The reasons for the triple crown, which is first mentioned at the coronation of Benedict XII in the fourteenth century, are very various. *Ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 165.

Unwilling to leave any remains of the schism, even after this, another deputation was sent to Benedict; but tho' he had only two cardinals adhering to him, he replied, that they might depend upon him for pacifying the troubles of the church, and that he was willing to confer with Martin on the subject. This being considered as an evasion, the cardinal ambassador published a bull of excommunication against him, and his two cardinals. He continued, however, to act as pope as long as he lived, tho' confined to his castle of Paniscola. But he was again supported by Alphonso king of Arragon, because Martin refused to give him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. Benedict died in A. D. 1424 at the age of ninety; but before his death he made the two cardinals who adhered to him take an oath, that they would chuse another pope in his place. Accordingly, they chose Gilles Mugnow, a cannon of Barcelona, who, at the requisition of Alphonso, accepted of the nomination, and took the name of Clement VIII. He even made a creation of cardinals. But Alphonso making his peace with Martin, this Clement abdicated the papacy in A. D. 1429. Two of the cardinals, however, being determined to continue the schism, they first chose Francis Rouera, a doctor of the canon law, and he resigning in the requisite forms, they agreed in the choice

choice of Martin; and thus the schism properly ended, after having continued fifty-one years.

Before this, John XXIII, after being kept in prison four years, was released at the intercession of the people of Florence, when he came to the neighbourhood of Parma, where he had many friends, who strongly solicited him to resume the pontifical functions. But instead of this, he went of his own accord, and made his submission to Martin, imploring his compassion, and in such a manner as drew tears from all who were present at the scene. The pope received him with much affection, made him a cardinal, and dean of the sacred college, and in all public ceremonies placed him in an elevated chair, next to himself. But he did not survive this more than six months, dying the 22d of December A. D. 1418. His particular friend Cosmo de Medici, the wealthiest man of his time, without excepting even sovereign princes, honoured him with a magnificent funeral, and erected a superb monument for him in the church of St. John at Rome.

## SECTION V.

*Of the State of the Clergy in this Period.*

**T**HE state of the clergy was nearly the same in this period as in the preceding; tho' the laity in general being now better informed, their disorders did not escape animadversion. But the maxims on which the exorbitant power of the clergy, and all the abuses complained of, were so generally received, that a reformation was almost impossible. In point of *argument* the clergy had generally the advantage. We find the fullest representation of the state of the clergy at the general council held by Urban V at Vienne in A. D.

1311. The principal source of the abuses arose from the power which the popes assumed of disposing of church livings in all parts of the world, which they almost always did for money, generally to strangers, who never resided, often to persons exceedingly profligate, and very ignorant. Their power to do this was not questioned, only the abuse of it was complained of; and when it was resisted, it was in an arbitrary manner, without solid reason. And what the popes did in the greater fees, the superior clergy did in the smaller benefices, which were at their disposal; and it could  
not



not be expected that they should dispose of any thing but in the manner on which they had acquired it.

Alphonso VII king of Castile applying to pope John XXII, in A. D. 1330, for a contribution from the clergy, in his wars with the Moors, said that formerly the clergy, from their zeal, served in these wars, or maintained troops; but that now livings were given to strangers, who were only concerned to raise from them all the money they could. He therefore requested that they might be given to native Spaniards. But he did not question the pope's right to give them to whom he pleased.

At the council above mentioned, it was said that the source of the evils complained of was the little care that was taken with respect to ordinations. A great number of unworthy persons were admitted to sacred orders; so that in many places the clergy were less respected than the Jews. Many clergymen of bad morals went to Rome, and obtained livings with cure of souls, in places where their irregularities were not known, which put it out of the power of well disposed bishops to reward merit in their dioceses. Mention was made of one cathedral church, in which there were thirty prebends; but tho' the bishop had governed the church twenty years, in which there had been more than

thirty-five vacancies, he had not had the disposal of more than two of them ; and there were persons then waiting who had expectations in that church, or the promise of the benefices, when they should be vacant.

Another great abuse then complained of was the plurality of livings. The same person, it was said, and often an incapable person, was possessed of four or five churches, sometimes of twelve, which would have been sufficient for the maintenance of fifty or sixty men of letters ; and sometimes livings were given to children. The consequence of this improper disposal of church livings was said to be the indecences of their dress, the extravagance of their tables, and a neglect and contempt of the service of the church.

Few of the clergy, it was said, were well informed with respect to the articles of faith or the cure of souls, which exposed them to the contempt of infidels, in their conferences with them, arising from the neglect of the scriptures, and theology, and their applying to the subtleties of logic.

Much complaint was at the same time made of the jurisdiction of the clergy, which was said to be committed to ignorant and contemptible persons and many were excommunicated for frivolous causes ; so that there were often in one parish three or four hundred persons in a state of excommunication.

cation, in one case not less than seven hundred; whence, they said, came a contempt of church censures, and discourses injurious to the church and its ministers.

No reformation of abuses having been made in the council of Constance from which so much had been expected, in A. D. 1329 the barons of France making many complaints against the clergy, and the clergy against them; the king summoned them to appear before him, when both were heard. But the clergy previously declared that what they should say would only be for the sake of informing the king's conscience, as they did not submit to his authority, and maintained the superiority of the ecclesiastical to the temporal powers.

Among other complaints, the barons said, that the clergy, in order to extend their jurisdiction, gave the tonsure to a great number of persons, children under age, or of servile condition, or illegitimate, to persons who were married, and some that were illiterate, who applied to them for fear of being imprisoned, or punished for their crimes. In reply, the clergy said, the more persons were consecrated to God, the better he would be served; that they would guard against the abuses they mentioned, but that the lords themselves were often very importunate with them to make the vo-

ry ordinations they complained of. *FLEURY, VOL. IX, p. 429.*

The barons said that, if a man were taken in actual theft, and said that he was a clergyman, they did not allow the things he had taken to be given to the owner, but took them to themselves. This the clergy admitted.

The barons said that, when a person was excommunicated the clergy exacted of him an arbitrary fine, and that many persons were unable to pay it. The clergy replied, that they never excommunicated but for mortal sin, which ought to be annulled upon by corporal or pecuniary punishment, that in some cases the fine was fixed, but in others arbitrary.

The barons said that the officials took possession of the goods of those who died without wills, and distributed them as they pleased; that they also took upon themselves the execution of wills, and had officers for that sole purpose. The clergy replied, that, according to the canons and the laws of France, every prelate is, in his diocese, the legal executor of wills, and that the rest followed of course.

After thus hearing of both sides, the king promised that if the clergy would correct the abuses complained of, he would not meddle with their rights; so that neither the council of Vienne, nor this

this appeal to the king produced any material alteration with respect to abuses.

In A. D. 1351 great complaints were made in England of the gentleness with which the clergy who were prisoners were treated by them; so that their prisons were places of pleasure to them, and they often went out worse than they were when they went in. A law was, therefore, made, that their prisoners should be restricted to a moderate diet; so that their confinement should be a real punishment.

On the occasion of a meeting of the princes and clergy of Germany, to consider of the demand of pope Innocent VI in A. D. 1359, of a levy upon the clergy of that country, the emperor said to one of them, "My lord bishop, whence comes it that the pope demands of the clergy so much money, and never thinks of reforming them. You see how they live; what is their pride, avarice, and luxury."

In many cases the popes themselves were sensible of the abuses in the state of clergy, and on particular occasions a check was put to them. So many were the evils arising from giving churches in *commendam*, that Clement V revoked all that he had granted; and yet from that time, Fleury says, they were more frequent than ever. "We see clearly," said this pope, "that the care of  
D d 5 " churches

“ churches and monasteries given in commendam  
“ is neglected, their goods and rights dissipated,  
“ and those who depend upon them greatly in-  
“ jured, to the great prejudice of both their tem-  
“ porals and spirituals ; so that what was pretend-  
“ ed to be advantageous, proves to be hurtful to  
“ them. It is to be feared,” he added, “ that great  
“ evils may arise from it to the church of Rome  
“ itself.”

Innocent VI, on his accession to the pontifi-  
cate in A. D. 1353, ordered that all the prelates  
who were then at his court should reside on their  
livings. He also revoked all commendams, and  
grants of a similar nature, “ Since experience,” he  
said, “ has shewn, that on account of them the di-  
“ vine service and the care of souls is diminished,  
“ hospitality ill observed, the buildings are fallen  
“ into ruin, and the rights of churches both spi-  
“ ritual and temporal are lost.” *Fleury*, Vol. 20.  
p. 29.

Urban V published a bull against pluralities,  
“ having learned,” he says, “ with grief, that some  
“ ecclesiastics, secular and regular, held many  
“ livings in number excessively odious, the cause  
“ of great murmurings among the people, who  
“ wanted pastors.” A similar order was given for  
England, where the abuse was probably greater  
than in France.

No

No person ever made a more liberal use of great wealth than William of Wikeham, bishop of Winchester, in the reign of Edward III. But it will be seen in his *Life written by bishop Lowth*, p. 22. &c. that besides his many civil offices and his bishoprick, he had in the church more than twenty other livings.

On a vacancy in the church of Sens in A. D. 1309, king Philip, wishing to place in it the bishop of Cambray, requested it of the pope; who replied that tho' those reserves displeased him he would oblige the king. Afterwards, as Fleury says, these reserves were the subject of great complaint, as they hindered canonical elections. The council of Constance decreed that the translation of bishops should not be admitted, except for important reasons, to be decided by a council of cardinals.

At this council much pains were taken by the emperor to procure a decree for the reformation of the church in its head and its members, before they proceeded to the election of a pope; but the cardinals and clergy opposed him with so much obstinacy and address, that he was obliged to give way. They promised that the new pope should immediately proceed on the business of reformation, and before they left Constance; but afterwards they refused to stand to this; saying that a pope must not be bound. They decreed, however, that

that another general council should be held five years after, another seven years after that, and for the future one every ten years; and that the pope might shorten these terms, but not enlarge them.

In this period, as in the preceding, we see on several occasions a great contempt of the clergy and of their censures. At a council held at Cologne in A. D. 1309, twenty-nine articles were published, more proper, says Fleury, to discover the abuses which then prevailed than to remedy them; and nothing was employed but those censures which had been long despised. Vol. 19. p. 160. We see in them the eagerness of the clergy to make the most of their privileges, and to enlarge their acquisitions. At this time the hatred and contempt of the clergy was so great, that they were often both imprisoned, and put to death, and sometimes others of the clergy would join in these violences against their brethren.

At a council held at Avignon in A. D. 1326 an account was given of some persons in a state of excommunication, having an idea that the priests who excommunicated them were adulterers, excommunicating them, lighting candles, burning straw, &c. The council expressed its abhorrence of this insolence; but, as before, they provided no remedy, besides such censures as had been despised. At the same time much complaint was made  
of



of the hatred which the laity entertained for the clergy. It appears by a letter of Benedict XII. to the kings of France and England in A. D. 1337; that there was at that time an almost general rising of the laity against the clergy. Sometimes the clergy, in order to enforce their censures, had stones thrown against the houses of those whom they had excommunicated, and procured biers to be carried before them, as if they had been dead, when their censures were despised; but this was forbidden by the council of Avignon in A. D. 1337. It was, no doubt, found that these things only made their censures still more despised.

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## SECTION VI.

*Of the military Orders in this Period.*

ONE of the most remarkable circumstances in this period of our history is the extinction of the order of *Knights Templars*; and it seems difficult, if not impossible, to investigate the real causes of it. It is true that before the year A. D. 1300 they were fallen into disrepute, on account of their dissolute lives; since to *drink like a Templar* was become proverbial. But in this respect it

is probable they were not worse than other orders of men equally wealthy. In luxury the superior clergy were, no doubt, on a par with them ; but for some cause or other, and some think it was nothing but the wealth they were possessed of, they were become obnoxious to Philip king of France, who was evidently bent on their destruction. However the facts that came before the public were as follows.

A Templar and another person being confined for their crimes, in a castle in the diocese of Thoulouse, made confession to one another ; when the Templar confessed crimes of such a nature, that his companion thought proper to inform the king of them ; and the king soon laid the case before pope Clement V, who was then in France ; and at a conference held at Poitiers in May A. D. 1307, the business was particularly considered. What passed at this conference does not appear, except that the king brought heavy charges against the Templars ; and the consequence of it was that, on the 13th of October, all who were of the order in all France were arrested, and among them the grandmaster John de Mola, who was then at Paris.

Some of them, being examined, confessed that, when they entered the order they had been obliged to deny Christ, and spit upon a crucifix ; and moreover that they worshipped the image of a head  
that

that had a long beard. What is most extraordinary is, that the grandmaster himself at this time confessed the denying of Christ. One hundred and forty were examined at Paris, and most of them made the same confession; and besides these impieties, they acknowledged many shocking impurities. Similar examinations were taken in other parts of France. That the pope did not readily enter into the king's measures is very evident, tho' at length he was induced to concur in them, and moreover wrote to the king of Naples, directing him to arrest all the Templars in his kingdom in one day.

The year following the king held a parliament at Tours, where all who were present, having heard the confessions, judged the Templars worthy of death. Some of those who were arrested, not having been able to go so far as Poitiers, were examined by three cardinals appointed by the pope. Five of these were persons of particular consideration, viz. the grandmaster of the Temple, the commander of Cyprus, the visitor of France, and the two commanders of Aquitain and Normandy. These all confessed their denial of Christ, or having promised that they would do so.

After this a council was summoned to meet at Vienne in A. D. 1311; and in the mean time orders were given for the examination of the Templars

plars in all parts of Europe ; and inquisitors were appointed to assist at the examinations. In August A. D. 1309 eight commissaries appointed by the pope meeting at Paris, and all that could be collected of the order in France appearing before them, John de Mola, a relation of the grandmaster, declared that he had been of the order ten years, but that he had neither known, nor heard, any ill of it. The grandmaster himself being then again examined, and reminded of his former confession, he expressed great astonishment ; and said that, if he had been at full liberty, he would not have made it, and professed his belief of the Catholic faith. In defence of his order, he said, no churches were better served than theirs, no order had given so much in alms, or had defended the church with their blood, like theirs.

At a council held at Saltzbourg in A. D. 1310, twenty Templars presented themselves, and said that, understanding that a council was to be held for the condemnation of their order, they came to declare their innocence of the crimes laid to their charge, appealing to the pope and a future council. At Paris the 11th of May this year fifty-nine Templars were burned alive, without any of them acknowledging the crimes of which they were accused, which struck the people much. A month after this nine were condemned, and burned, ac-

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Senlis; but at the stake they declared that what they had confessed before was not true, and that it was extorted from them by the dread of torture. On the 14th of May some Templars, who had engaged to defend their order before the commissaries of the pope at Paris, maintained that every thing that had been laid to their charge was false, and that those who had made the confessions were either gained by promises, or did it for fear of torture and death. The Templars in the kingdom of Arragon stood upon their defence by arms, but the king's troops overpowered them, and took them prisoners.

When the council met at Vienne in A. D. 1311, tho' the principal object of it was the suppression of Templars, they were not heard in their own defence, and the remonstrance of many persons against so unjust a proceeding was not regarded. Nor was the order condemned or suppressed by a public decree of the council, but only by the pope himself, in a private consistory, and then not in the form of an absolute definitive sentence, but *provisionally*; and in the second session of the council he published their suppression, reserving for his own disposal, and that of the church, their persons and possessions. Thus, however, was this celebrated order suppressed, after it had subsisted one hundred and eighty-four years. Their possessions

were given to the knights Hospitallers, except those in Spain, which were reserved for the disposal of the pope, and afterwards applied to maintain the wars against the Moors.

At a conclusion of this mysterious business, in A. D. 1313, the grandmaster of the order, and the commander of Normandy being sentenced to suffer death, solemnly retracted their confessions, and declared themselves and their order innocent of the things that had been laid to their charge. They suffered with great firmness, persisting to the last in asserting their innocence, to the great astonishment of all who were present.

If we consider the circumstances of this accusation of the Templars, it cannot but appear in the highest degree improbable. That there were unbelievers, and profligate persons, among the Templars, as well as among the clergy, or monks, is very probable; but that they should make the rejection of Christianity a term of admission into their order, is altogether incredible; because it could only have exposed them to the indignation of all the Christian world, and consequently the loss of all their emoluments. For a proceeding of this nature could not have been a secret. If the charge had been true, an unbeliever could have had no motive for voluntarily confessing it; and therefore nothing but hope, or fear can be supposed to have extorted

extorted it from them. Whatever, therefore, might be the guilt of the order, or of the individuals that composed it, it cannot be said to have been sufficiently proved, and consequently their condemnation must be pronounced to have been unjust.

In A. D. 1318 John XXII confirmed the military order of *Christ* in Portugal, giving them the estates of the Templars in that kingdom, and in Algarva. They were to follow the rule of the Cistercians, according to the constitution of the knights of Calatrava.

Had impartial justice been done, it is probable that the fate of the Teutonic knights would have been the same with that of the Templars, and with more appearance of reason. For they were still less of a religious order, being continually occupied in fighting, and acquiring territory for themselves, and for this purpose engaging in wars, even with Christian princes. The king of Poland having made heavy complaints to the pope of their conduct in A. D. 1339, nuncios were sent to inquire into the grounds of them; when it appeared that they had entered that kingdom with an army, where they had made great havock; having burned nine churches, after plundering them of every thing of value. They had also seized Pomerania, and other states, to which they had no right. On these

accounts they were excommunicated, and their absolution reserved for the pope himself.

Their differences with the kings of Poland did not end here. Being again in a state of open war, they were, in A. D. 1410, defeated in a great battle, in which their grandmaster, many generals, commanders, and others of their nobility, and not less than fifty or sixty thousand common soldiers, were slain. The year after the king of Poland made peace with them, allowing them their conquests in Prussia.

Lastly, these Teutonic knights having acted tyrannically in Samogitia, which had been converted to Christianity by Ladislas Jagellon, the inhabitants complained of them to the council of Constance in A. D. 1415; when it was decreed that the people of Samogitia should depend upon the emperor in civil matters, and on their bishops in spirituals, and the knights were ordered not to interfere in their affairs.

## SECTION



## SEC. VII. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. 437

### SECTION VII.

#### *Of the Fratricelli, or Spiritual Franciscans.*

A SPIRIT of inquiry and free discussion once excited, and especially when supported by a principle of conscience, is not easily quelled by authority. This the popes found with respect to the more rigid Franciscans, who thought themselves bound by the letter of their institute to renounce all *property* in every thing; and who, in support of it, maintained that Christ and the apostles had none. Several of the popes patronising the contrary doctrine, an open schism, tho' of no very alarming nature, was by this means produced in the church; and other persons, whose principles went farther than those of these Franciscans, availing themselves of the circumstance, declaimed in the most open manner against the corruptions of the church of Rome, so as to be entitled to be classed with reformers, tho' they did not join themselves to the Waldenses, Albigenses, or those of any other particular denomination. Against those, as well as against the rigid Franciscans, the popes found it necessary to proceed with the greatest severity; and on their side they bore cruel persecu-

tion, even unto death, with the greatest constancy. In the preceding period several of the popes had taken the part of the more rigid Franciscans, but the tendency of their principles being now more clearly seen, all the popes were hostile to them.

In the pontificate of Boniface VIII some persons, who at least called themselves *Fratricelli*, or *Beguines* (apostates, it is said, from various religious orders) pretending to have the power of giving the Holy Spirit by the imposition of their hands and to absolve sinners,\* and openly renouncing the church of Rome, the pope gave the most rigorous orders to the inquisitors to proceed against them, and in A. D. 1297 he gave a special commission to Matthew Christi, a Franciscan monk, to discover and punish them in Abruzzo, the March of Ancona, and the neighbouring provinces.

These *Fratricelli* generally called themselves the *third order of Franciscans*, or *brothers of repentance*; and by the common people they were often called *Beghards* or *Beguins*. They were much

\* It is proper to mention the extravagances, as well as the vices, that the Catholic writers lay to the charge of their opponents; but when, as in this case, there is no other evidence to be procured, they must be heard with caution.

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much attached to the memory of John de Oliva; saying that he was the greatest doctor after the apostles, and calling him *St. Peter not canonized*. Being now a separate sect, they were condemned at the council of Vienne in A. D. 1312, on which occasion they were charged with holding that in this life a man may attain to such a state of perfection, as to be impeccable; that in this state there is no occasion to pray, and that any indulgence may be granted to the body; since, *where the spirit is, there is liberty*; and that it is an imperfection to descend from this height of contemplation to think of the eucharist. At this council bishops and inquisitors were ordered to seek out and punish these heretics. Pope Clement endeavoured to unite the different parties of Franciscans, but those who called themselves *spiritual*, tho' professing themselves Catholics, paid no regard to the decree that was made for that purpose. They kept themselves separate; and being favoured by the people, they expelled the others from Narbonne and Beziers.

Of all the popes, John XXII had the most trouble with the Fratricelli. Being much of a theologian, he entered into controversy with them; but at the same time he did not neglect the use of authority. But neither his reasoning, nor the force that he employed was able to break the spirit of

these enthusiasts. Many of them being patronized by Lewis of Bavaria, who was at variance with the pope, set him at defiance. They were also favoured not only by the common people in many places, but by other persons of consequence, especially in Sicily and Naples.

In A. D. 1317 John wrote to the king of Sicily, desiring him to assist the superior of the regular Franciscans in bringing back those who called themselves *spiritual*, and had taken refuge in Sicily, charging them with holding many errors. He gave the same orders with respect to those who were still in Provence; but they refused to obey, appealing to the pope better informed. Upon this he cited before him forty-six from Narbonne, and seventeen from Beziers, and in all more than sixty.

But when he commanded them to go to the convent of their order in the city, and conform to the rules of it, with respect to dress, and other articles, concerning which he had published a constitution, they refused, and were sent to prison. At length, however, all of them, except twenty-five, complied with the pope's requisition. But even these maintained that the pope had no power to dispense with the rules of their founder, which they had sworn to obey. These Franciscans the pope charged with despising the sacraments of the church, and holding many other errors. In the same year he forbade the

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the continuance of this order of Franciscans, under pain of excommunication.

By this time these spiritual Franciscans had formed themselves into a regular body, and avowed doctrines peculiar to themselves, and such as greatly recommended them to the more serious of the common people. They said there were two churches, one carnal, loaded with riches, plunged in delights, and blackened with crimes, in which the popes and the cardinals presided; the other spiritual, adorned with virtue, frugal and poor, which consisted of themselves, and their followers. They were also charged with maintaining that all ecclesiastical power belonged to them, that swearing was in all cases unlawful, and that the world was near its end. These opinions were, at least, formally condemned by the pope, as held by them. At the same time he ordered them to be apprehended, and punished as they deserved, especially Henry de Ceva, who was their superior. On the other hand, they denied the pope's power to make the regulations prescribed in his bull. Four of them being examined upon the subject, and persisting in their opinions, were burned alive, and were honoured as martyrs by those of their sect.

The great favourer of the spiritual Franciscans had been pope Nicolas III, who published a constitution, according to which even the property of

things consumed by these mendicants was declared to belong to the pope and the church. This constitution John revoked, as useless to the friars, and disgraceful to the church, expressly renouncing that kind of property, except that of their buildings and other things of the same permanent nature. Bonnegrace of Bergamo, who was then at the court of Avignon on the part of these mendicants, appealing from this constitution as invalid, the pope caused him to be put in prison, and there he continued a whole year. In A. D. 1322 one Walter, a Hollander, a leading man among these Franciscans, and who dispersed little books in Germany, was burned at Cologne.

The year after this the pope, after long and mature consideration, and after consulting the ablest theologians in the university of Paris, published a constitution, in which he declared it to be heretical to maintain that Jesus Christ and his apostles had no property, either private or in common, or that they had no right to use the things which the scriptures say they had, or to sell, or give, or acquire, other things. But Michael de Cesena, the general of the regular Franciscans, supported by the bull of pope Nicolas, ventured to maintain the contrary doctrine. Also the famous William Occam declared against the opinion of the pope, preaching even publicly, that his

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his opinion was a heresy ; and for this he was cited to appear before him.

It has been observed that the rigid Franciscans were very fond of the writings of John de Oliya, in which he announced a kind of second coming of Christ, or of *the spirit of truth* about the time of St. Francis, whose rule was condemned by the carnal church. This notion had its rise, as was observed, from abbé Joachim, and carried farther by John of Parma, in his *Introduction to the everlasting gospel* mentioned before, and was held by many for a century afterwards. Availing themselves of this, they maintained that St. Francis was sent of God to raise the church sunk in ruins, that evangelical perfection was only to be found in their rule, that the church of Rome was *Babylon the Great* in the Revelation, the *mother of harlots*, and the pope mystical Antichrist, who was to raise a violent persecution against evangelical poverty and perfection ; but that the carnal church would soon be destroyed by the church spiritual, and the reign of the Holy Spirit.

Such being the doctrines which these spiritual Franciscans drew from the writings of John de Oliya, pope John in A. D. 1326, condemned these writings. And as, among the other predictions current among them, one was that the Saracens, and other infidels, were to be converted by them,

tho'

tho' many would suffer martyrdom in accomplishing it, that they were also to recover the schismatical Greeks, and to convert the Jews (and with these views many of them went into foreign countries, where they published doctrines contrary to those of the church of Rome) the pope forbade any missionaries to be sent into foreign countries except men of letters and prudence, and ordered that those who should go without leave should be pursued as apostates.

Among the disciples of John de Oliva was Ubertin de Casal, who flying from the court of Rome, and being ordered to be apprehended, took refuge with Lewis of Bavaria, and joined Marfilius of Padua in writing against the pope. The principal object of their writings was to advance the power of the emperor, and to combat the opinions then prevailing in the schools concerning the power of the pope.

The whole of the opposition to the pope from the Franciscans was not confined to the irregular and schismatical among them. Michael de Cesena, the general of the regular Franciscans, being summoned to appear before the pope at Avignon, maintained to his face the doctrines which he had condemned; and while a process was commenced against him on that account, he fled to the emperor Lewis; and when the pope pronounced against him



him a sentence of deposition, and appointed another general of the order, he appealed to a future council. He was, however, deposed by his own order at their next chapter in Paris in A. D. 1329; when they came to a final decision of the question concerning the poverty of Christ, and reconciled as well as they could the different decrees of the popes on that subject.

In another constitution, published this year, the pope argued at large in defence of his opinions, in which he maintained that, when Christ said that *his kingdom was not of this world*, he meant that it did not come from the powers of this world, but from God. Michael de Cesena answered this, and said that it was heresy to maintain that Jesus Christ had any property in temporal things, at the same time that he directed his disciples to divest themselves of them. Being at Munich in A. D. 1330, under the protection of the emperor Lewis, he addressed a letter to the Franciscans in his own vindication, appealing to a future council, and enumerating the heretical errors of the pope, of which he made twelve articles, all relating to the poverty of Christ and the apostles. But at the next chapter of the order Michael and his adherents were censured as heretics and schismatics, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; and the new general answered his letter.

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Notwithstanding these vigorous proceedings of the pope and the regular Franciscans, those who called themselves *spiritual* continued to be in great numbers in several places, and acted with great spirit. In the south of France they held regular assemblies, whose superiors, lived in common, and begged publicly. In Italy there was another sect of the same kind, who had a chief called *Angelo*, of the valley of Spoleto, an illiterate person. These also held their assemblies, published divers indulgences, and heard confessions, tho' they were laymen. In A. D. 1332 the pope gave orders to the clergy to prosecute them in both these places. Michael de Cesena had partisans at Prague, and these the pope ordered to be apprehended, and sent to him at his own expence. The queen of Naples, the wife of king Robert, favoured these rebellious Franciscans, and the pope made loud complaints of it in his letters to the king.

In the beginning of the year A. D. 1333 Michael de Cesena, considering himself as the proper general of the Franciscans, addressed another letter to the order, repeating what he had written before, and in contempt of the pope, he called him *John of Cahors*; saying that a pope who decides contrary to the Catholic faith by the very fact incurs the punishment of excommunication, and the deprivation of his dignity. This letter, which was written

at Munich, he directed to be read frequently in their convents, and to be made as public as possible.

In this business of the Fratricelli, as in almost every other in which the popes were concerned, they, by their perseverance, and the favour of circumstances, succeeded. In A. D. 1349 many of the spiritual Franciscans being carried off by the plague, most of the rest made their submission, and among them was William Occam, the most distinguished of them, and joined the regular Franciscans. Some, however, continued to a later period, tho' they did not appear so openly; but when questioned they did not hesitate to maintain that John had no power to revoke the constitutions of preceding popes in their favour, or to suppress their order on any account. Two of them being apprehended in A. D. 1354 at Montpellier, and on being interrogated asserting these and other things against the authority of the pope, and maintaining that those of their brethren who had suffered death were martyrs, were themselves burned. One of them, John de Chatillon, published a declaration before he died, that John XXII was a heretic, and an enemy of the church, on account of his constitution against them, and that his successors, who espoused the same heresy, were he-

retics, and in a state of excommunication with respect to all other prelates who defended the Catholic faith.

### SECTION VIII.

#### *Miscellaneous Articles relating to the Monks and the Mendicants.*

IN this period, as well as in the preceding, we meet with great complaints of the disorderly state of monasteries, and from a variety of causes. At the council of Vienne in A. D. 1311 complaint was made that, in consequence of the cardinals having conventual priories and abbeys given to them, tho' they were not monks, there was a total neglect of their rules, the monks having no superior to instruct, correct, or govern them. Hospitality also was omitted, the goods of the abbeys were dissipated, their rights lost, and the buildings became ruinous, to the great scandal of the people.

Two of the constitutions of Benedict XII. shew how exceedingly relaxed were all the monastic orders in his time. The spirit of them was so much forgotten, that no mention is made of mental prayer;

er, or bodily labour; and yet Fleury says that these constitutions contributed to the farther relaxation of them. The great plague that ravaged all Europe in A. D. 1348 was the cause of much relaxation in the discipline of monasteries, many of the monks being carried off by it, and the rest neglecting their rules, so that the discipline could not be restored afterwards. This circumstance affected the mendicants as well as the monks. In A. D. 1370 the monastery of Mount Cassin was much declined, both in spirituals and temporals; being chiefly occupied by vagabond and insolent monks, who lived a life almost secular; and their buildings were almost ruined by an earthquake. But it was restored by Urban V.

At the bare proposal to reform the Benedictine monastery of Clusen in the diocese of Hildesheim, at the council of Constance in A. D. 1407, all the monks abandoned it, and left John of the abbey of Rheinhausen in the diocese of Mayence, who had undertaken to reform it, to himself. He was not, however, discouraged, but assembled other monks of a better disposition in another place, called St. Thomas de Bursfield, in the diocese of Mayence, and from this monastery the reformation extended gradually thro' all Germany. Two centuries after this abbey of Bursfield served as a

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model to two other famous abbeys, viz. St. Vanes in Lorraine, and St. Maur in France.

It appears, however, from the *Life of Petrarch* that all monasteries were not in this disorderly state. Gerard the brother of Petrarch retired to one of the order of Carthusians at Montrieu in the south of France from a principle of devotion; and both he and the rest of that fraternity seem to have led the most exemplary lives. When the monks were dispersed in the great plague in A. D. 1348, and the prior urged him to fly for his life, as he himself did, Gerard resolutely continued in the place, till he had buried all the thirty-four who staved with him. He then remained alone with a dog to guard the house and the property belonging to it. After this he got leave to chuse another prior, and to get other monks, and re-established the monastery. Some time after this Petrarch paid him a visit, and was much edified with the piety of those monks, and greatly affected with the accounts they gave him of what they suffered from the depredations of the neighbouring lords and others, and for their use he wrote his books on the *religious life*. Petrarch himself was truly pious, and for the times in which he lived rationally so, as his writings and letters evince; and when he was at Milan he chose his habitation near a monastery —

nastery for the benefit of attending the devotions of the place. *Life of Petrarch*, Vol. 3. p. 452.

In A. D. 1351 great complaint was made of the rigour with which prisoners in monasteries were kept. Some were sentenced to perpetual confinement, in perfect darkness, where they lived on nothing but bread and water, and saw no person whatever; so that they died of despair. On this account the king of France obliged the governors to make the condition of their prisoners more tolerable in many respects.

The complaints of the incroachment of the mendicants on the offices and emoluments of the secular clergy did not cease with the last period. In A. D. 1357 there were warm disputes between the clergy of England and the mendicants. At the head of the clergy was Richard Firrand, archbishop of Armagh, and then chancellor of the university of Oxford. Both parties appealed to pope Innocent, and the chancellor pleaded before him at Avignon November 8th, A. D. 1357. In his speech he maintained that tho' Jesus Christ was poor, he was never a beggar, and the rule of the order did not imply begging. Parishioners, he maintained, should confess to their parish priests, rather than to the mendicants. As a proof of these incroachments, he said that there were in his diocese more than two thousand persons, of whom hardly

forty confessed to him, and yet all received the sacrament, having confessed, as they said, to the mendicants; so that, he observed, they might justly be suspected of absolving persons on condition of their being charitable to their order.

As some proof of this, he said that, since the friars had the privilege of confessing persons, they had built every where monasteries like palaces, but never imposed any alms for the repair of a parish church, a high road, or a bridge; nor, said he, did the Franciscans enjoin the giving of alms to the Dominicans. At the university they inveighed so many young persons to join them, that parents were afraid to send their sons thither. In his time, he said, there had been thirty thousand students at Oxford, but then hardly six thousand. They were so numerous, and so rapacious, that in all the university a good book could hardly be found but among them. They bought up every thing, and their libraries were magnificently furnished.

He was answered by Roger Chenoc, a Franciscan; but he rested his defence almost wholly on the pope's bulls in favour of the order. After the pleading, the pope, without deciding definitively, published a provincial bull in favour of the mendicants, and afterwards a confirmation of all their privileges; they having, as Thomas Walsingham says,



says, spent much money at the court of Rome. In this contest with the mendicants Wickliffe, then at Oxford, particularly distinguished himself.

About the beginning of the fourteenth century many of the Franciscans separated themselves from the rest for the sake of a more strict observance of their rule. Some of them had the approbation of pope Celestin, and were called *poor hermits*, having at their head Liberat of Meardo, and they settled in a small island near Achaia. There they were much harrassed, and persecuted, in consequence of being charged with many errors, especially Manicheism; and a contempt of the papal authority, tho' nothing of this was proved against them. Sometimes they were confounded with the *Apostolics*. Many of them came to Provence, where they joined those of the order who were called *spiritual*. Clement V appointed two cardinals to examine into the affair, and in the mean time he exempted them from all persecution.

Two new institutions in this period seem to have had their origin in the best intention, according to the ideas of devotion and virtue that prevailed in those times. Eleazar, count of Arian, in the kingdom of Naples, of the noble family of Sabran in Provence, engaged with his wife to live in continence, at her proposal, from the time of their marriage; she being then twelve years of age,

and he fourteen. When he was twenty he regulated his family in the following manner. The gentlemen and knights, and also the ladies, married and unmarried, confessed every week, and received the communion every month; the ladies spent the morning in prayer, and works of piety, and after dinner in some bodily labour. Every evening there was a spiritual conference in his presence, when he addressed them with great zeal, so that his house was more like a monastery than the court of a great lord. Several other persons regulated their families after the model of this, and one bishop. Some time after this both the count and his wife entered into the third order of St. Francis. In A. D. 1322 Robert king of Naples made him governor of Charles his eldest son. He died on an embassy to Paris, and was canonized after his death.

In A. D. 1384 one Gerard Groot of Deventer, a doctor of the university of Paris, and a canon of Utrecht, established a new order, called the *brothers of common life*, consisting of persons of knowledge and piety, who lived in common, and employed themselves in the instruction of youth. Thomas a Kempis wrote the life of this Gérard, and greatly applauded his institution. During the sitting of the council of Constance one Grabon a Dominican wrote against it, as unlawful, and contrary  
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to the approved orders; but Gerson answered Grabon, threatening him with the resentment of the council, in the decisions of which his voice had the greatest weight; and in consequence of this he was induced to retract what he had advanced.

We do not in this period meet with many persons of distinction embracing the monastic life; but about the year A. D. 1358, Peter, son of the king of Arragon, and Charles count of Alencon, cousin german of John king of France, became mendicants.

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## SECTION IX.

*Of the Reformers in this Period prior to Wickliffe.*

WE have seen that, in every period of this history since the prevalence of the great corruptions of the Catholic church, there have been persons who strenuously opposed them, and who in general were exposed to grievous sufferings in consequence of that opposition. They may, therefore, be properly called *reformers*, whether their labours had more or less effect. But in this period we find reformers of singular eminence, and

more renowned, as their history is better known to us. Of these were Wickliffe in England, and John Hus and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia. But before I give an account of them, I shall recite what I have been able to collect concerning their predecessors in the North of Italy, and the South of France, to emissaries from whom, especially from the Waldenses, we can trace almost every attempt at reformation in other countries. Being persecuted at home, and full of zeal for what they considered as important truth (and what, if Christianity itself be of importance, certainly was so) they dispersed themselves into all parts of Europe, especially to Flanders, where manufactures, commerce, and opulence soon introduced a liberal spirit of free inquiry; and also into Bohemia, and other parts most remote from Rome, and where, consequently, they might expect to be more at rest from papal persecution.

Mention was made in the preceding period of *Segonelli*, the chief of those who were called *Apostolics* in the North of Italy, and of the persecution raised against them. This did not discourage others from joining them, or following their example. The most distinguished of those was *Dulcin*, in Lombardy, who openly maintained that the church of Rome was the *whore of Babylon* in the Revelation, that *no tythe* ought to be given to any priest, but

but such as were poor like the apostles; that prayer has as much efficacy in a wood, or a stable as in a church, and that oaths are unlawful. His followers avoided as much as possible making a declaration of their faith, but, when compelled to it they did it in the boldest manner, without any regard to the consequences, but without discovering their brethren. This Dulcin had not fewer than four thousand followers. Being driven from Milan, they lived among the mountains. The pope had a crusade preached against them, and sent Dominican inquisitors, who collected an army, and put it under the command of Rainier, bishop of Verceil. He pursued them so closely in A. D. 1308, that a deep snow falling at that time, many of them perished of hunger and cold, including those that were killed, not fewer than four hundred. About an hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, and among them Dulcin himself, who was afterwards put to death, his limbs separated, and his bones burned. But the sect was by no means extinguished. In A. D. 1372 many of his disciples in Sicily preserved his bones and those of his disciples as also of the Fratricelli, as relicks, erected churches and chapels in their honour, and visited them yearly in great crowds, on the anniversaries of their death. Gregory XI wrote to the bishops of Sicily to put a stop to these practices.

Rainier's object was to extirpate heresy by all possible means. He was a native of Placenza, and had been himself a heretic seventeen years. He then became a preaching friar, and Alexander IV made him inquisitor of Lombardy. His hopes of success were founded on an interregnum in the empire, and a vacancy in the see of Milan. But he durst not set his foot in the dominions of Azolino of Padua, who was a cruel tyrant, but a friend of the Patarins, as opposed to the pope. *Robinson*, p. 434. 439.

The heretics were also openly defended by Uberto Pallavicino, who was master of Cremona, Placenza, Milan, and other places. He drove the inquisitors from Milan, and banished Rainier, who died in exile. About twelve years after the death of Pallavicino the preaching friars were going to burn a woman for heresy at Parma, when the mob rose, destroyed the monastery, and drove all the monks out of the city. Credible writers affirm that in the sixteenth century all parts of Italy abounded with heretics. *Ib.* p. 446. 442.

The great number and respectability of the Waldenses appears from the account given of them by this Rainier, who had been one of them. He says that "of all the sects they were the most dangerous; in the first place because they have continued longer than any other, some say from  
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“ the time of pope Silvester, but others from the  
 “ time of the apostles ; secondly because they are  
 “ more generally dispersed, there being hardly any  
 “ country into which they have not penetrated ;  
 “ and thirdly because of all the sects they have  
 “ the greatest appearance of piety ; but they in-  
 “ veigh against the church of Rome and the clergy,  
 “ and this draws crowds after them.” *L'Enfant's*  
*Basle*, p. 11.

In A. D. 1332 the Waldenses were so numer-  
 ous in Piedmont, that pope John XXII gave a  
 commission to the inquisitor of Mantua, Albert de  
 Castellain a Dominican, to prosecute them. They  
 sometimes assembled to the number of five hundred.  
 They rose in arms against the inquisitor, and killed  
 a clergyman, whom they supposed to have informed  
 against them, and besieged the inquisitor himself  
 in a castle, so that he was obliged to leave the  
 country. The chief of these people was Martin  
 Pastre, who after preaching publicly, and escap-  
 ing the inquisitors twenty years, was at last ap-  
 prehended.

Benedict XII, who was made pope in A. D.  
 1335, found heretics in various parts of the king-  
 dom of France. There were Waldenses in Lyo-  
 nois, and Dauphiné, Fratricelli and disciples of  
 Dulcin in Italy, and others in Germany, Bohe-  
 mia, and Dalmatia. On this account he sent out

two inquisitors, one to Olmutz, and the other to Prague, both Dominicans.

In A. D. 1251 Clement VI, being informed that there were many heretics in the diocese of Embrun in Dauphiné, wrote to the bishops, the abbots, the clergy, and also to the lords and judges, requesting that they would aid the inquisitors in extirpating them.

In A. D. 1373 Gregory XI complained to the king of France of there being in his dominions many persons of the denomination of *Baghards*, or *Turlupins*,\* who were no other than Waldenses, the Baghards having this name from their frequent begging or praying, as they were called *Lollards*, or *Lollards*, from their singing *hullen*, having that meaning in Germany where that appellation was given them. In Dauphiné and the neighbouring provinces the pope said there was a great number of Waldenses protected from the inquisitors by the king's officers. In consequence of this information

\* In Flanders and Artois persons in a very low and abject condition were called, by way of proverb, the children of *Turlupin*, under the curse of nature; owing it is conjectured, to the family of some person of that name having been remarkably unfortunate. Hence, by way of contempt and abhorrence, these reformers might be called *Turlupins*. *Beausobre in L'enfant's Basile*, p. 384.



tion the king exerted himself to stop the progress of these sects. At Paris their cloaths and books were burned in the market place, and two of the Tarlupins, one called Jeanne d'Aubenton, were burned.

Heretics, as they were called, were found beyond the bounds of Italy, or France. In A. D. 1315 some were discovered by the Dominican inquisitors in Austria, and they were burned at Crems. They used neither baptism nor the Lord's supper, and in general despised the Roman hierarchy. They said there were more than eight thousand in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighbouring countries. They all died in triumph, and are said to have paved the way for those who came after them in Bohemia and Germany.

It is no uncommon thing to charge persons with the supposed consequences of their opinions. Thus they who very justly laid little stress on the rites of the church, the efficacy of which was so excessively magnified by the Catholics, and on all external and corporeal acts in general, and who laid the greatest stress on inward piety, were supposed to be of opinion that all virtue and vice had so much their seat in the *mind*, as that, if *this* was in its right state, the most impure acts of the *body* alone could not contaminate it. It is probable that some persons viciously inclined may have  
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drawn this consequence from the doctrine of the distinction between the immaterial soul and the gross body; but it is not probable that this was ever the avowed opinion of a whole sect, and least of all of those who suffered martyrdom for their religion. In this case such accounts are altogether incredible, tho' we frequently meet with them in the writings of their adversaries. Thus it is said that in A. D. 1356 one Berthold was condemned at Spire for maintaining, among other things, that a man may in this life arrive at such a state of perfection, that he shall have no need of prayer, or fasting, and that nothing will be sin to him; that vocal prayer is useless to salvation, it being sufficient to pray in the spirit, that an ignorant layman, without knowledge of books, but enlightened by God, may profit others and himself more than the most learned priest, and that a devout man, in taking his ordinary food, may acquire as much grace as receiving the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. There was probably nothing in this but the sentiments of the Waldenses perverted.

Superior learning and knowledge has often exposed men to the persecution of bigots. This was the case of Roger Bacon, in a former period, and of Arnold of Villa Nova, a famous physician in Spain, whose good sense had led him to assert, that there was nothing but the externals of the  
Christian

Christian religion then left in the world. In A. D. 1317 he was dead, but his opinions were then condemned by the inquisitors at Tarragona in Spain. He is said to have prophesied that the end of the world would be in A. D. 1335.

The power of these inquisitors was of such a nature, as to be very liable to abuse, and the civil powers in many states took umbrage at the office, and laid restrictions on it. In A. D. 1346 the Florentines passed a law, and the same had been done at Perugia in Spain, and in other places, that no inquisitor should meddle with any thing out of his office, or exact any fine, but only punish with death those who were convicted of heresy. In two years preceding this the inquisitors had exacted more than seven thousand florins from the citizens on the pretence of heresy, when, John Villani says, there never were fewer heretics in the city.

Sometimes the rage of the people against the inquisitors could not be restrained. In A. D. 1375 two inquisitors were murdered, one at Susa, and the other at Turin, the latter in the public square, before a church, by twelve persons. On this the pope wrote to the duke of Savoy, and the king of France, complaining of their neglecting the duties of their station, and of the nobles of the country favouring the heretics. After this the inquisitors

apprehended so many heretics in those provinces, that it was necessary to build more prisons; and taxes were levied to support them.

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## SECTION X.

*Of Wickliffe and his Followers.*

WE have seen that the dispersion of the Waldenses was the means of exciting a spirit of opposition to the corruptions of the church of Rome in all parts of Europe. England did not escape this salutary influence; but it is probable that the greater number of those who visited England were immediately from Flanders, or Germany, from their having obtained the name of *Lollards*. Their opinions, and their zeal, were adopted by *John Wickliffe*, who was born in A. D. 1324, and educated at Oxford, where he greatly distinguished himself by his application to literature, and especially in the contest that was then carried on between the mendicant orders and the other members of that university. From opposing the incroachments of those friars, who were supported by the court of Rome, he was led to see more of the corruptions of that court, and of the system

system they maintained, than perhaps he would otherwise have done, tho', compared with later reformers, he may be thought not to have proceeded very far. He acknowledged seven sacraments, saying they were "tokens that may be seen of things that could not be seen;" but he inveighed against the idle ceremonies of the church of Rome in the administration of them, and towards the latter part of his life, he questioned the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, but did not express himself clearly on the subject. He opposed the doctrine of absolution and indulgences, and tho' he believed a purgatory, and at one time was of opinion that pious prayers might be of use to persons confined in it, he afterwards maintained it to be a pernicious error. He rejected prayers to saints, the worship of images, and pilgrimages.

But the greatest offence he gave was what he advanced against the clergy, and the power of the church. He denied the power of excommunication; saying, there could be no heresy without a bad life, and that no man can be properly excommunicated who does not first excommunicate himself. Tythes, he said, were voluntary alms, and might be given or withheld at the pleasure of the people. Church endowments he considered as the root of all the corruption of the clergy, and often wished the church was again reduced to its primi-

tive poverty and innocence. He was still more adverse to the clergy having any secular employment, but preferred their being married to the obligation of living in celibacy. Peter pence he thought an iniquitous imposition.

It does not appear that Wickliffe denied the supremacy of the pope, or any of the more fundamental doctrines then held by the church. He was a rigid predestinarian, and no doubt a trinitarian. He seems to have thought it wrong to take away the life of man on any account, and that war was utterly unlawful, and much more war in the name of religion, such as the popes promoted during the great schism. "When," he said, "will the proud priest of Rome grant indulgences to mankind to live in peace and charity, as he now does to fight, and kill one another." That such a man as this was looked upon with a jealous eye by the popes, and the friends of the hierarchy, cannot be wondered at.

In A. D. 1376 Gregory XI wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, the university of Oxford, and the king of England, complaining of their tolerating so long the errors of Wickliffe, then rector of Lutterworth, and requiring that he should be apprehended and examined. The errors with which he charged him were nineteen in number, such as have been enumerated. Accordingly he

was

was examined by Courtney bishop of London, when he explained his prepositions, but did not retract any of them. But being supported by John of Ghent duke of Lancaster, who attended him in person on this occasion, and also by lord Percy, earl marshal of England, nothing could be done against him.

Wickliffe, being now in great consideration, was consulted by the parliament about the lawfulness of employing the money that had been collected for the use of the pope, in the service of the nation, and there could be no doubt but he would sanction the measure the expediency of which was universally allowed.

But as the influence of the duke of Lancaster declined, the enemies of Wickliffe took their advantage of it; and in A. D. 1381 the archbishop of Canterbury called a council, in which the opinions of Wickliffe were condemned; but he being exceedingly popular, they did not venture to do any thing against his person. However, on the 20th of June, two persons who held his opinions were examined, and declared to be heretics, and a power was obtained of the king to arrest and imprison all such.

Wickliffe himself died in peace in A. D. 1387, after suffering by the stroke of the palsy, which seized him two years before, as he was preaching.

He left many writings, but his chief work was the translation of the Bible into English.

So numerous were the disciples of Wickliffe that at this time it was said that if two persons were met on the road, one might be sure that one of them was a Lollard. *Gilpin's Life of Wickliffe*, p. 54. This state of things giving some alarm to the court of Rome, a council was held in London, in consequence of a letter from pope Boniface IX to king Richard, in 1396, in which several articles taken from the works of Wickliffe were condemned, among which were the following ; that in the time of the apostles the church had only priests and deacons ; that popes, patriarchs, and bishops, were the invention of pride ; that popes, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, their officials and deans, the monks and friars, were the agents of Antichrist. *Fleury*, Vol. 20. p. 422.

If the tide turned against the followers of Wickliffe in the reign of Richard II, it did much more so in the following reigns of Henry IV and V, who, as their title to the crown was dubious, thought it necessary to pay court to the clergy. From them a power was obtained, to arrest, imprison, and fine, for heresy, without waiting for the king's writ, which was necessary before, and often withheld. Having now the whole jurisdiction in their own hand, the persecution against heretics raged with



with the greatest violence, and many were the victims of their bigotry and intolerance.

The most distinguished of these martyrs was lord Cobham, who in the earlier part of his life had been a great favourite with Henry V, and deservedly so, as he was in all respects a most accomplished person, and useful to the king both in council and in the field. As, however, he was an avowed patron of the Wickliffites, and even encouraged scholars from Oxford by stipends, to propagate his doctrines in the country, he could not escape a prosecution. The king wished to prevent it, and expostulated with him in private; but his reply to the king was as follows: "I ever was a dutiful subject to your majesty, and I hope ever will be. Next to God I profess obedience to my king, but as to the spiritual dominion of the pope, I could never see on what foundation it is claimed, nor can I pay him any obedience. As sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident, that he is the great Antichrist foretold in holy writ." This bold answer shocked the king so much, that he left him to his fate. In his examination before the archbishop, he behaved with equal firmness; and on the subject of the Lord's supper would only say, that the elements contained the body and blood of Christ under the similitude of bread and wine. Perceiving that he

gained nothing by his manly address to his judges, he said, aloud to the persons present : " So these  
" are your guides, good people, for the most flagrant transgressions of God's moral law was I  
" never once called in question by them. I have  
" expressed some dislike to their arbitrary appointments and traditions, and I am treated with unparalleled severity. But let them remember the  
" denunciations of Christ against the Pharisees.  
" All shall be fulfilled." This threw the court into some confusion ; but the archbishop keeping to the subject of the eucharist, asked him whether, after the words of consecration, there remained any material bread. He replied, " the scriptures make  
" no mention of the word *material*. I believe  
" that Christ's body remains in the form of bread."

When he was told that their doctrine was the determination of the church and holy doctors, he replied, " I know none holier than Christ, and the  
" apostles, and this determination is surely none  
" of theirs. It is plainly against scripture. I believe the scriptures, and all that is founded upon  
" them, but in your idle determinations I have  
" no belief."

Thro' the whole of his examination he behaved with equal spirit. When the censure of the church was pronounced, he said, " You may condemn my  
" body. My soul you cannot hurt;" and after a  
proper

proper address to the people, he fell on his knees, and begged God to forgive his enemies. He was then sent to the tower. While his adversaries seemed to be irresolute about what they should do with him, he made his escape; and flying to Wales continued there four years. He was then, however, apprehended, on the idle pretence of having encouraged the assembling of twenty thousand men in St. Giles's fields, with a view to dethrone the king; and then both as a traitor, and a heretic, he was burned alive, being suspended with an iron chain, and fire put under him at Tyburn, a punishment which he bore with the greatest fortitude. This was in A. D. 1414. See his *Life* by Mr. Gilpin.

In the eighth session of the council of Constance forty-eight articles of the opinions of Wickliffe were condemned, and he himself being also condemned as an obstinate heretic, his bones were ordered to be dug up and thrown away.

## SECTION XI.

*Of John Hus and Jerome of Prague.*

THE steps of Wickliffe were followed with equal zeal and ability by John Hus, a native of Hossinets, a village in Bohemia, from which he had his name. When the disciples of Wickliffe were persecuted in England, many of them left the country, and some of them went as far as Bohemia, where many of the Waldenses, and persons of similar principles, had taken refuge before. Also a Bohemian nobleman, who had studied at Oxford, and a great admirer of him, brought the books of Wickliffe to Bohemia. These were read by many persons, and among others by John Hus, then a young priest, a man of great genius, and a fluent speaker, a master of arts in the university of Prague, and preacher in a church which had been endowed by a rich citizen of the place. He had also a great advantage in being confessor to Sophia, the wife of Winceffas king of Bohemia, and in having a great ascendancy over her. He openly preached the doctrines of Wickliffe, and on all occasion enlarged in his praise. But before this time it is said that Bohemia, and even Austria, was full of Lollards, there being no fewer than eighty

eighty thousand, and many of them sealed their testimony against the corruptions of the church of Rome with their blood.

In the seventeenth century the Waldenses were allowed to settle on the Saltz, the Lawn, and the Eger in Bohemia; nor was popery established in that country till the fourteenth century, and then not by the consent of the people, but by the power and artifice of Charles IV. Two of his chaplains endeavoured to persuade him to curb the pope, and reform the church; but both of them were banished. One of them, whose name was Janovius, and who had studied at Paris, being a man of sense, learning, and piety, was a great friend of reformation, and both preached and wrote against the corruptions of the times. Before he died he said, "At present the fury of the enemies of truth prevails against us, but it will not be so always. Men will arise without swords or power, and against them they will never be able to prevail." *Robinson*, p. 479.

Hus was preceded by John Milicius, a native of Moravia, a canon and preacher in Prague. He contended for the communion in both kinds, was a popular preacher, and a man of an austere life. He died in A. D. 1374, and left sermons and other works. *L'Enfant's Basle*, p. 14.

In this state of things the minds of great numbers would be well prepared for the preaching of such a man as John Hus. In A. D. 1408 and 1409 he distinguished himself so much by his declamation against the two popes, who then divided the obedience of the Christian world, and against the church of Rome itself, that the archbishop of Prague declared him a schismatic, and forbade his preaching. He also ordered all the books of Wickliffe to be burned. But Hus having now acquired a great share of popularity, being rector of the university, and having got much credit by asserting the privileges of native Bohemians in it against the Germans, he paid no regard to the sentence of the archbishop, or to the bulls of pope Alexander V, which had been procured to support them.

The followers of Hus continually increasing, the affair was carried before John XXIII, who had succeeded Alexander; and he summoned Hus to appear before him at Bologna; but being supported by the queen, by the king himself, and by the university, he excused himself. He, however, sent three persons to appear for him; and the king, by whose interposition Hus had made his peace with the archbishop, requested that the pope would content himself with sending legates into his country to correct any abuses they might find there; sufficiently intimating that there were none. Hus, however,

however, not appearing in person, according to the citation, was declared to be contumacious, and as such was excommunicated by the cardinal Colonna, to whom had been committed the cognisance of the affair. An appeal being made from the sentence of the cardinal, the pope again summoned him to appear before himself, and appointed four commissaries to hear the cause.

It does not appear that Hus paid any regard to these measures of the pope. For in the beginning of the year A. D. 1411, he not only excommunicated him, but laid the city of Prague under an interdict, while he should be in it, excepting one particular church. This being the cause of much dissention and even some bloodshed in the city, Hus retired from it to Hussinetz, the place of his nativity, and there published an appeal from the sentence of the pope to the holy trinity. At the same time he addressed himself to the cardinals, proposing to give an account of his faith before the members of the university, and all the clergy, and said he would submit to their sentence, tho', in consequence of it, he should be condemned to the flames. In this absence from Prague he preached in several towns and villages, followed by great crowds of people, and then he published a treatise to shew that the books of heretics ought not to be burned.

John

John XXIII having published some violent bulls against Ladislas, Hus, who had returned to Prague, took the opportunity to declaim against his conduct, as exciting Christians to shed the blood of one another, and also against indulgences, and crusades in general, and challenged the doctors to dispute with him on the power of the pope with respect to such crusades. On this a new champion on the part of Hus appeared, viz. Jerome of Prague. He was neither a clergyman, nor a monk, but having studied in several of the most celebrated universities of Europe, and taken the degrees of bachelor and master in theology; he had been invited by the king of Poland to regulate the university of Cracow. Thence he had gone into Hungary, where he was accused of heresy; and going thence to Vienna, had been put in prison, but was delivered at the request of the university of Prague. He now made a long harangue in support of the thesis of Hus. By this time the friends of Hus being very numerous, and one provocation producing another, some of them insulted those who were preaching the papal indulgences; and on their calling the pope Antichrist, three of them were apprehended by order of the senate, and beheaded in the night, their friends honouring them as martyrs.

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## SEC. XI. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. 477

The next year the pope published another bull against the errors of Wickliffe, and the Hussites, ordering the books of the former to be burned, and citing Hus, and all his partisans to appear at Rome in nine months. To this citation Hus paid no regard, but continued to declaim as violently as ever against the abuses of the church of Rome. Two years after this, viz. in A. D. 1414, the pope issued another citation, but Hus replied, that the pope being only a priest like himself, he had no authority to judge him. On the other hand, he fixed up in his church of Bethlehem, a writing in which he accused the clergy of six errors, viz. 1. their asserting that in the celebration of the eucharist they created their creator; 2. their believing in the virgin, the pope and the saints; 3. their pretending that whenever they please they can remit the punishment and the guilt of sin; 4. that superiors are to be obeyed whether their commands are just or unjust; 5. that every excommunication, just or unjust, binds the person excommunicated. The 6th related to simony.

The pope gaining nothing by these citations wrote to the king, to engage him to use every means in his power to extirpate the doctrine of Hus in his dominions; but this prince paid no more regard to this requisition than Hus himself,

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The council of Constance being now assembled, Hus was glad of the opportunity, which he flattered himself it would afford him, of justifying himself, and spreading his principles; but he formed a very wrong judgment of the spirit of that assembly, and the temper and power of his adversaries. He had, however, the precaution to get a safe conduct from the emperor Sigismund, which should have ensured his safety, both in going thither, during his stay, and till his return. Trusting to this, he set out for Constance with great confidence; publishing in all the places he went through, that he went to justify himself from the accusations that had been brought against him. Winceslas, for his greater security, sent with him three Bohemian lords, and they arrived at Con-

stance Nov. 3, A. D. 1414. But notwithstanding his safe conduct, and the remonstrance of the emperor, he was presently after his arrival ordered to be taken into custody, and eight articles of accusation brought against him; 1. his having taught that the laity ought to communicate in both kinds; 2. that in the sacrament of the altar the bread remains bread after consecration; 3. that priests in a state of mortal sin cannot administer the sacraments, but that laymen in a state of grace may do it; 4. that by the church is not to be understood the pope and the clergy; that the church cannot hold

hold temporal possessions, and that the lay lords may take them from it; 5. that Constantine and the other princes did wrong in endowing the church; 6. that all priests are equal in authority, and that ordinations, and cases reserved to the popes and the bishops, are the effect of ambition; 7. that the church has not the power of the keys, when the pope, and the cardinals, and all the clergy are in a state of mortal sin. Lastly, he was charged with despising excommunication, having always performed divine service during his journey.

For his defence against these accusations, he was not allowed to have any advocate, this being a privilege never granted to any person accused of heresy. He was not, however, discouraged, and his mind was so much at ease, that during his confinement he composed several treatises. It was evidently with reluctance that the emperor abandoned him; but when the commissaries appointed to try Hus applied to him, he said, that, as it was a case of *heresy*, they were at full liberty, willing to have it supposed that, in this case, he had no power to give a safe conduct. But of this Hus ought to have been apprized in time, that if he had come, it might have been understood that it was at his own risk. The Bohemian nobility saw the case in this light, and made earnest remon-

monstrances against his imprisonment; but the clergy having him now in their power, and having the consent of the emperor, would hear no reason. He continued two months a prisoner with the Dominicans, and then was transferred to the Franciscans.

In the fifth session of the council, in which the decree of a council held in Rome, to punish all those who did not burn the books of Wickliffe was confirmed, commissaries were named to judge in the affair of Hus; and they omitted nothing to induce him to retract his errors. But, tho' in prison and sick, he replied to all their charges, and till he had a public audience of the emperor, which he was made to believe he should have, he was put into the custody of the bishop of Constance, by whose order he was confined in the fortress of Götzen beyond the Rhine.

On the fifth of June A. D. 1415 he was examined before the council, after having been brought once more to the prison of the Franciscans, when he denied his having ever asserted that the substance of material bread remained in the consecrated elements, or that he had maintained any of the errors of Wickliffe. He acknowledged, however, his having said that he ought not to have been condemned unheard, and that he thought he was saved, and wished that his soul might be with him ;

him ; and that he agreed with him in the opinion that Constantine had done wrong in giving estates to the church, and that tythe was alms, tho' the people were under obligation to pay them.

At his third audience his adversaries, having carefully perused his writings, extracted from them thirty-nine heads of accusation, among which were the following. " St. Peter neither was, nor is, the head of the Catholic church. The papal dignities came from the emperors. Wicked priests only profane the sacraments. No heretic ought to be punished corporally. The appeal to Jesus Christ makes the judgment of the pope and of the council of no effect. Interdicts are unlawful. A priest who lives according to the law of Christ ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication whatever." After being long urged to confess his errors, and submit to the council, in which the emperor joined his examiners, he persisted in defending himself, and was remanded to prison.

On the 6th of July Hus, being produced before a full council, solemnly appealed to the tribunal of Jesus Christ. This was imputed to him as a crime, and it was decreed that his books should be burned, and himself degraded. While these sentences were pronouncing, he was on his knees, denying the obstinacy with which he was charged, and praying for his judges and accusers. After

his degradation, by taking off, one by one, his sacerdotal habits, he was declared to be a layman, and delivered over to the secular power, the consequence of which was his being ordered to be burned alive. When they were conducting him to the place of execution, they led him by the place where his books were burning. But nothing they could do made any impression on him. He kept reciting psalms all the way to the stake; and to the last shewed the greatest fortitude and piety. His enemies acknowledged that no philosopher suffered death with so much firmness. After his death his ashes were thrown into the river, to prevent their being collected, and preserved as relicks, by his followers; but it is said that in lieu of them, they scraped up the earth on which he had stood.

It does not appear that Hus denied any proper article of the Catholic faith, or that he recommended any of the writings of Wickliffe except those in which he declaimed against the corruptions of the court of Rome. But he had made himself many and bitter enemies on several accounts. He was a strenuous *Realist*, and zealous opposer of the *Nominalists*, who were numerous at Prague, and the virulence with which these two parties in the schools opposed each other had no bounds. And the council of Constance was very much governed by Gerfon, who was a *Nominalist*. Hus had also made himself

himself many enemies among the Germans, who had most influence in the council, by his conduct with respect to the university of Prague. *Mosheim*, Vol. 3. p. 228. 230.

As Hus held the real presence, and all the other doctrinal articles of the church of Rome, the true motives for his condemnation must have been his respect for the memory of Wickliffe, whom he persisted in maintaining to have been a holy man, and his vehement declamations against the corruptions of the court of Rome, and of the clergy in general. His sentiments on this subject were not different from those of many of the most respectable members of the council, but they had not addressed the common people on the subject, so as to endanger the tranquility of any state, as Hus did.

The Flagellants were, in fact, more hostile to the church of Rome than Hus. They made no account of any of its sacraments, they denied the real presence and transubstantiation; and with respect to ecclesiastical abuses of all kinds they went beyond Wickliffe or Hus, besides holding other opinions still more offensive, if what is generally said of them by Catholic writers be true. But notwithstanding this the council passed no censure upon them, but endeavoured to gain them by gentle measures, especially by winning over Vincent Ferrier who favoured them, and whose preach-

ing was always attended by great crouds of them. In reality they probably considered them as a set of furious fanatics, who would only be driven to greater excesses by severity. They, therefore, wisely left the evil to cure itself. But this was not so likely to answer with the Hussites, whose proceedings were more calm and rational, and therefore more likely to produce serious and permanent effects. *L'Enfant's Constance*, Vol. 2. p. 90.

The news of the execution of Hus excited the greatest disturbance in Prague, where his disciples honoured him as a martyr. The lords of Bohemia and Moravia, to the number of sixty, wrote to the council, complaining of their conduct in condemning Hus as a heretic, without proving him to have been one; and giving him the greatest encomium, as a faithful minister of the gospel, irreproachable in his doctrine, and morals. It had been well if the friends of Hus had only acted in this manner. But without considering the genuine spirit of Christianity, or following the doctrine and example of their master, they assembled in arms, and not only plundered the houses of the archbishop, and the clergy, but put several persons to death. Not stopping here, and expecting that force would be employed against them, they formed themselves into a regular army, and gave the command to John de Troxnow, commonly known by the name of



of Zisca, which signifies *one eyed*, he having lost the other in a battle, in the wars of the king of Poland against the Teutonic knights; and who was at that time chamberlain to Wincelass. But the events of this unchristian and destructive war will be related in the next period of this history. I return to the account of Jerome of Prague.

Jerome went to Constance out of zeal to comfort and serve his friend Hus, and arrived there April 4th, A. D. 1415; but perceiving, by the situation in which he found things, that he could not serve him, and might endanger himself; and finding that he would not be allowed a public audience before the council, he fled to Uberlingen, whence he wrote to the emperor, and the lords of Bohemia, for a safe conduct; which, after some delay, was granted, but artfully drawn, as it promised him safety in going to the council, but expressed nothing about his return. Having, however, no suspicion of artifice, he returned, and fixed a writing to all the churches and monasteries in Constance; signifying his readiness to attend the council, in order to give an account of his faith, and even undergo the punishment of heresy if he could be proved to be a heretic. No attention being paid to what he had done, he set out on his

return to Bohemia, but was arrested on the road, and conducted to Constance, as a prisoner.

Being examined with respect to his flight, and his opinions, he answered with great modesty and firmness; and some of the examiners mentioning the punishment of fire, he said he submitted to the will of God, if that was their pleasure. Being remanded to prison, he fell sick, and being overlooked he continued in prison till May the year following; and in that interval Hus was executed. The members of the council hearing of the disturbance occasioned by their proceedings with respect to him, took great pains to induce him to recant, and at length they succeeded. In the presence of the council, he read a form of recantation that was drawn up for him, in which he condemned the errors of Wickliffe and Hus, and declared his belief of the Catholic faith, on the subjects of the power of the keys, the sacraments, indulgences, relics, &c. &c. but notwithstanding this, he was still detained a prisoner, the sincerity of his recantation being suspected, and there being a disposition in the majority to find him a heretic, and punish him as such, after they had disgraced him.

Whether he was fully apprized of this or not, does not appear. However, repenting of what he had done, he requested a public hearing, with a view, as he said, to explain his sentiments; and  
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it was granted; after being warned that if he persisted in his errors, he would be treated with the greatest rigour. To this he made no objection; and being permitted to speak, he began with complaining of the injustice of his judges, and passed to an high encomium on Hus; saying that he came to Constance to support him, that he gloried in holding his sentiments, and that nothing but the fear of death had been his motive for retracting them. This retraction he revoked, as the greatest crime with which his conscience was burdened. He declared his approbation of the doctrines of Wickliffe and Hus, excepting what Wickliffe had advanced concerning the eucharist, and his resolution to adhere to this profession as long as he should live. This was the 26th of May.

Being remanded to prison, he was, on the 30th of the same month, brought again before the council, and being reproached for his conduct, he replied with the greatest firmness, and presence of mind to every thing that was advanced against him; and persisting in his refusal to retract his opinions, sentence was pronounced against him as a heretic relapsed, and he was delivered to the secular power. Two days, however, being allowed him to prepare for death, endeavours were again used to induce him to recant, but to no purpose. He

heard the repetition of his sentence with a chearful countenance; and as he went to the place of execution, recited the apostles creed, the litany, and a hymn to the virgin Mary. When he saw the wood that was prepared for his execution, he again repeated the creed, and suffered with the greatest fortitude. His ashes were carefully gathered up, and, like those of Hus, thrown into the river.

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## SECTION XII.

*Of various Opinions, theological and moral, that were the Subject of Discussion in this Period.*

**T**HIS period, as well as the preceding, produced much and subtle speculation, and consequently controversy; but the great dread of heresy served to keep it within bounds, and prevented discussions of the greatest consequence within the precincts of the Catholic church. Some of the questions that were then started are curious, and deserving the notice of theologians and moralists, who attend to the progress of the human intellect.

One of the most interesting discussions within the bounds of the Catholic church in this period

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was that which was excited by pope John XXIII, who was well versed in the theology of the times. Being a man of reading and learning, he leaned to the opinion of the antient Christians concerning *the state of the death*, which was lost in the superstition of later times. Notwithstanding the general opinion of the existence of a soul distinct from the body, it was not thought, during many centuries after the Christian æra, that the souls of the most virtuous went to heaven, to be with God and Christ, till after their union with their bodies at the resurrection. An exception, however, was first made in favour of the souls of martyrs, which were thought to be intitled to peculiar privileges. Without this they could never have become the objects of prayer; and originally prayer was made *for* the dead, and not *to* them. At length, however, it came to be the universal opinion, that the souls of all good men went immediately to heaven after death.

This doctrine, now universally received, was called in question by this pope. In a sermon which he preached in A. D. 1331, he said, that the saints will not enjoy the perfect vision of God till after the resurrection; that till that time they were “under the altar of God, under the protection and consolation of the humanity of Christ.” This gave great offence to many; and his enemies

among the Franciscans were eager to put this doctrine in the number of heresies. So bold and extraordinary was his doctrine thought to be, that his friends said, it was only advanced by him as an opinion to be discussed, and not as a certain truth; and no public notice was taken of it for two years; tho', probably, in order to gain favour with the pope, some of the cardinals professed to think as he did on the subject.

A question started by a pope was not likely to pass long without notice; and in the year A. D. 1333 an English Dominican, having preached against the pope's doctrine, was by his order put in prison. Notwithstanding this, it was generally censured by the university of Paris, which was the great school of theology in these times. The unpopularity of his doctrine in a place of so much consequence gave the pope no small alarm; and in order to counteract the opposers of his doctrine there, he sent two doctors of divinity to Paris, one a Franciscan, and the other a Dominican, tho' on another pretence. But when one of them delivered a sermon in defence of it before many of the students, his labours were very ill received. Such an error, it was said, ought not to pass without punishment. The king being not a little disturbed at it, the pope wrote to him, to say that what he had advanced was only to promote the discussion  
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of a question concerning which different Fathers had held different opinions, but that the church had not decided any thing about it.

This, however, was not sufficient to satisfy the king. He assembled his doctors of theology at Paris, and they, in writing, gave an opinion directly against that of the pope; which giving him still greater alarm, he assembled the cardinals in January A. D. 1335, and after reading to them various passages of writers for and against the opinion, he declared that, if any thing that he had advanced was contrary to the scriptures, or the Catholic faith, it was not his intention, and he expressly revoked it.

The king was not satisfied with this. He told the Franciscan who had preached at Paris, that he was a heretic; and if he did not retract what he had advanced, he would have him punished as a Patarin; saying, he would not suffer heresy in his kingdom; and that if the pope himself should maintain that opinion, he would condemn him in the same manner; adding that, tho' a simple layman, he was a good Christian; that it was in vain to pray to the saints, or hope for salvation from their merits, if they did not see the divinity till the day of judgment; that, in this case, all indulgences granted by the church were vain, and consequently that it overturned the Catholic faith.

Both

Both the king of France and Robert of Naples wrote to the pope on this occasion, representing to him, that tho' he had moved the question only with a view to discover the truth, he had done more than became him as pope. It was enough for him to decide questions when they arose. The extreme unpopularity of the pope's opinion gave the king of France such an ascendancy over him, that from this time he durst not refuse him any thing. And just before he died he assembled the cardinals, and declared to them, that he believed that souls separated from the body, and purified, are in heaven in paradise, with Jesus Christ, and in the company of the angels, and that they see God and the divine essence face to face, as much as is consistent with the state of a separate soul; and that if he had ever said or preached otherwise, he retracted it. That he really changed his opinion in consequence of the opposition it had met with is not probable, and the last clause of his declaration rendered his retraction of no force.

His successor Benedict had it much at heart to determine authoritatively the question about the beatific vision, which had been proposed by John. He took the pains to compose a treatise on the subject, sending them Avignon that he might have more leisure for the purpose. This he read in a council, to which he summoned all those who held



held the opinion of John, but he could not expect any opposition on such an occasion as that. This work of Benedict's is still preserved at Rome. After this preliminary he the next year published a bull, in which it was declared, "that the souls of all the saints, when they are purified, even before the resurrection, go to paradise, and see the divine essence with an intuitive vision face to face, without the interposition of any creature; and that the souls of those who die in mortal sin go immediately to hell, and are tormented there."

The theologians of this age were generally great logicians and metaphysicians, and their opinions on these subjects were sometimes thought to border on heresy; and when they attracted any considerable degree of public notice, it will be expected that an historian should give information concerning them, however insignificant they may be in themselves.

At the council of Vienne in A. D. 1311 some opinions of Ubertin de Casal, a great admirer of John de Oliva, and a person of much note among the spiritual Franciscans, were thought to be of so much consequence as to be publicly condemned in its decrees. He asserted, that the divine essence engenders and is engendered, which was an opinion of the abbot Joachim, condemned at the council of Lateran in A. D. 1215. He also maintained that

that the reasonable soul is not the substantial form of the human body, which must have been thought to imply, that they had no proper connection. For, in consequence of this, he was charged with believing that souls only can have merit or demerit. He likewise asserted that children at baptism receive the remission of original sin only, and not the graces and virtues.

In opposition to these tenets, it was now decreed, that "the Son of God subsisted eternally  
" with the Father, in every thing by which the  
" Father existed, that he took the parts of our  
" nature united together, viz. a passible body and  
" a reasonable soul, which is the substantial form  
" of the body." It was also decreed that "who-  
" soever should dare to maintain that the reasonable  
" soul is not the substantial form of the body, ought  
" to be considered as a heretic." Lastly, it was  
" declared to be " the most probable opinion,  
" that graces and virtues are conferred at baptism,  
" to infants as well as to adults."

In A. D. 1329, John XXII condemned several extraordinary propositions of Eccard, a Dominican, among which were the following: " God  
" created the world as soon as he himself existed;  
" so that the world is eternal. Whatever God gave  
" to the Son in his human nature, he gives to us,  
" even union with himself, and sanctification.

What-

“ Whatever the scriptures say of Jesus Christ is true of every good christian. Whatever belongs to the divine nature belongs to him. God is so much *one*, that he is without any distinction, even of persons.” In what manner soever Ec-card might explain his assertions, he was held in great esteem, as appears by the writings of John Thaulerus, another Dominican, and famous among the mystical theologians, tho’ what he says concerning *transformation into God* resembles the refinements of the Beghards of this time, and the Quietists in a later period.

We do not find in this period any controversy of the least importance concerning the person of Christ; but some opinions that bear some relation to the doctrines of the trinity and transubstantiation, having engaged a great degree of attention at the time in which they were advanced, deserve some notice of the historian, tho’ not of the divine, at present.

In A. D. 1346, the doctors of Paris condemned the opinions of John de Merceur, a Cisterian, some of which were the following. “ Jesus Christ by his created will may will something that will never come to pass. But in whatever manner God wills, he wills efficaciously; so that it actually comes to pass, even with respect to men, so that no person sins otherwise than as God wills.”

In

In A. D. 1351, Francis Baille, a Franciscan, maintained that the blood of Christ shed in his passion was separated from his divinity, and therefore was not to be adored with the worship of *latria*, during the three days in which he lay dead. A Dominican opposed him in this, and Clement VI, holding a solemn assembly on the occasion, condemned the doctrine of the Franciscan, and obliged him to make a public recantation of it.

In A. D. 1371, complaint was made to Gregory XI, of some Dominicans in Spain advancing in a sermon, that if a consecrated host fell into the dirt, or was eaten by mice, ~~and~~ it became mere bread, the body of Christ leaving it, he forbade preaching on the subject, but did not decide the question. Peter Lombard was also undecided on the subject, but Thomas Aquinas held that the body of Christ continues in the wafer in all events.

Some propositions advanced by John de Montson, a Dominican of Catalonia, in A. D. 1307 had more serious consequences. Being a doctor in theology he maintained in the schools, that "the hypostatical union in Jesus Christ is  
" greater than the union of the three persons in  
" the divine essence. There may be a mere creature more perfect with respect to merit than the  
" soul of Jesus Christ. The virgin Mary was not  
" exempted from original sin." These, and several

veral other propositions of less consequence, were first condemned by the university of Paris, and then by Clement VII, who excommunicated him for flying from his sentence. One of his followers, William de Valon, bishop of Evreux, after being obliged to retract his opinions, fled to Urban, and wrote a large treatise in defence of his right. This was the occasion of a great persecution of the Dominicans in France, especially in the Northern parts of the kingdom. Many of them were imprisoned, no alms were given to them, and they were forbidden to preach, or to hear confessions. The university banished them intirely, and they became the laughing stock of the common people, who called them *Huets*. This continued many years. Those who opposed them thought they did honour to the blessed virgin; so much had the opinion of her immaculate conception then gained ground.

Scholars in this period were much divided into the professed followers of Thomas Aquinas, who was a Dominican, called *Thomists*, and those of his rival John Duns Scotus, a Franciscan, who were denominated *Scotists*. The points of difference between them related to the nature of the divine co-operation with the human will, the measure of grace necessary to salvation, the unity of form in man, or personal identity, and other subtle

questions. But one of the principal differences between the Dominicans and the Franciscans was that the latter defended the doctrine of the *immaculate conception of the virgin Mary*, which was opposed by the former. At the council of Constance in A. D. 1416 Gerson proposed that the controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the virgin should be decided by that assembly. He was not only an advocate for *this* doctrine, but also proposed to institute a festival in honour of the immaculate conception of her husband Joseph. *Fleury*, Vol. 21. p. 397.

In this age of nice distinctions and subtle disputation, the doctrines of *grace and predestination* were the subjects of some discussions. In A. D. 1354 Gui, a hermit of St. Austin, and other persons in France and England, were condemned for maintaining that "a man may so merit eternal life, that God would be unjust in not giving it to him; and that tho' there were no free will, there might be sin." In England some held that "the first man would have died, tho' he had not sinned, that original sin does not make a man guilty, and others of a similar nature;" which shews the dawning of good sense on these subjects.

At a council held at Canterbury in A. D. 1368, the following opinions, of the same general complexion, were also condemned. "Every man  
... ought

“ ought to have the free choice of turning to God,  
 “ or from him, and according to this choice he will  
 “ be saved or damned. Baptism is not necessary  
 “ to the salvation of infants. No person will be  
 “ damned for original sin only. Grace, as it is  
 “ commonly explained, is an illusion, and eternal  
 “ life may be merited by the force of nature.  
 “ Nothing can be bad merely because it is forbid-  
 “ den. The fruit that Adam was forbidden to eat  
 “ was forbidden because it was in itself bad. Man  
 “ is necessarily mortal, Jesus Christ included, as  
 “ well as other animals. All the damned, even  
 “ the demons, may be restored, and become happy.  
 “ God cannot make a reasonable creature impec-  
 “ cable.” It was an honour to the age, and the  
 country, to produce such sentiments as these; but  
 it was but a sudden blaze in the midst of much  
 thick darkness, and, as far as appears, was soon  
 extinguished.

In A. D. 1371 Albert, bishop of Halberstadt,  
 taught that “ every thing comes to pass necessarily,  
 “ according to the influence of the stars.” As he  
 was a doctor of the university of Paris, many per-  
 sons, and especially of the nobility, adopted his  
 opinion, and in consequence of it ceased praying  
 either to God, or the saints. This was a sufficient  
 call upon the pope to interfere, and he ordered  
 the inquisitors to oblige him to retract his opinion,

and moreover to reprobate it in the most public manner.

In A. D. 1376 the writings of Raymond Lulli, not the Franciscan of that name (who distinguished himself by his writings, and more by dying in his attempt to convert the Mahometans of Barbary) but a Jew pretended to be converted, were censured by Gregory XI. He had advanced that "God may be denied in public, provided he be confessed with the heart, and that the laws of Mahomet were as good as those of Jesus Christ." *Abrige Chronologique del. Hist. Eccles. in Ann.* The continuator of Fleury and Mosheim suppose this Raymond Lulli to have been the same with the Franciscan.

The duke of Burgundy having assassinated the duke of Orleans in the reign of Charles VI of France, John Petit, a Franciscan, published a treatise in which he defended his conduct, on the principle of its being lawful to kill a tyrant, even tho' an oath had been taken to the contrary. But the council of Constance, at the instance of Gerson, without mentioning the writer, condemned the principle, as heretical, seditious, authorizing treason and perjury, and decreed that they who maintained it should be considered as obstinate heretics.

The



The Greek church was not without its share of controversy in this period, any more than the Latin, nor was the subject of more consequence. Barlaam of Calabria returning from Avignon, had in A. D. 1343, a great dispute with some monks of Mount Atlas, at the head of whom was Gregory Palamas. They pretended that by intense acts of devotion they could, with corporeal eyes, see a divine light, and the same that had appeared to the apostles, on the mount of transfiguration; which light, they maintained was the same with God himself. The Greek emperor not being able to reconcile the contending parties, a council was called at Constantinople, in June A. D. 1344, in which the emperor himself presided along with the patriarch John, when the doctrine of Palamas was condemned. Notwithstanding this, the empress Ann, in order to mortify the patriarch, with whom she was at variance, encouraged Palamas and his followers; in consequence of which his doctrine spread, and occasioned much disturbance, the bishops and clergy violently opposing them. She even procured the deposition of the patriarch, and the bishops being assembled on the occasion, declared that Palamas had spoken like a good theologian. Ifidore, a friend of Palamas, being made patriarch, there was a schism in the church; the bishops in general assembling, and excommunicating

ting him. Similar excommunications were thundered from other quarters, as Antioch, Alexandria, Trebifond, Cyprus, Rhodes, and other places; and tho' Palamas himself was made bishop of Theffalonia, the people would not receive him, so that he retired to the isle of Lemnos.

In A. D. 1351 the emperor Contacuzenus, who favoured Palamas, held a council, in which his doctrine of the light upon mount Tabor being uncreated was confirmed, and several persons who were of the contrary opinion were deposed, notwithstanding the opposition of Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote the history of it. To make this decree the more solemn, the emperor, most magnificently dressed, placed an account of it, drawn up by Palamas, with his own hand upon the altar, together with another writing, in answer to Barlaam and Acyndinus.

## SECTION

SECTION XIII.

*Miscellaneous Articles.*

1. *Of several Attempts to procure an Union of the Greek and Latin Churches.*

IN this period, as well as the preceding, there were attempts to procure an union between the rival churches of Rome and Constantinople, all arising from the same motive on the part of the Greeks, and all having the same end. The Greek emperors wanted the aid of the Latins against their powerful Mahometan enemies, but the clergy and people were utterly averse to an union of the churches, and yet on no other terms could any assistance be procured from the West. Besides, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, the Greeks regarded them with tenfold abhorrence.

In A. D. 1339 Barlaam of Calabria, and Stephen Dandolo, a noble Venetian, came to Avignon with letters to the king of France, and Robert king of Naples; saying that they were sent by Andronicus the Greek emperor to treat of an union between the two churches. He was at that time hard pressed by the Turks; but so many difficulties arose with respect to the way in which it was to be brought about, that nothing was done.

Clement VI sent ambassadors to Constantinople about the union of the two churches, when the Greek emperor proposed that a general council should be called for the purpose; but the death of this pope put a stop to all farther proceeding about it.

In A. D. 1355 John Paleologus, pressed by the Turks and rebellious Greeks, expressed a great desire of the union; and for this purpose he wrote to Innocent VI, swearing by the holy gospels, that he would be faithful to him as the sovereign pontiff, and receive his legates with all reverence; and that he would do his utmost to reduce all his subjects to his obedience. He, moreover, promised to send him his son, that he should be taught the Latin tongue, and that the most distinguished of the Greeks should be instructed in the same language. He further declared, that if he did not accomplish the union, he would resign the empire to his son, and transfer to the pope his paternal power over him; so that he might govern in his name, give him a wife, tutors, and curators, and thus have the disposal of the whole empire. But the pope not being able to give the emperor the assistance he wanted, nothing came of the negotiation. Nuncios, however, were sent by the pope to Constantinople, and they were received by the emperor with all respect, and he received the

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the communion at their hands ; but he informed the pope that, on account of the opposition of his subjects, he could not immediately execute what he intended. In A. D. 1369 the emperor, after sending a respectful embassy in his own name, and that of many princes and clergy who favoured the union, went himself to wait on Urban V at Rome, when he made a public profession of the Catholic faith, and kissed the pope's feet. But nothing more was done.

In A. D. 1400 the emperor Manuel went in person to France in order to procure assistance against Tamerlane, and one plea for such succour was the opportunity it might afford of putting an end to the difference between the two churches. But the states of Europe being at that time divided by the great schism, no assistance could be given. However, a number of learned men accompanying the emperor, this journey is said to have been a means of promoting a taste for literature in the West. *L'Enfant's Pise*, Vol. 1. p. 127.

Lastly, at the council of Constance in A. D. 1418, a solemn embassy was sent by Manuel Paleologus, with proposals for an union of the two churches ; and it was received with much respect ; but it does not appear that any thing was done in consequence of it.

The conduct of the popes, whenever they had power in the East, was by no means such as would recommend the supremacy they claimed ; discovering the greatest intollerance, and love of wealth and power, Gregory XI prevented as much as he possibly could, the exercise of the Greek religion in Candia, which was in the power of the Venetians. In one of the letters, written in A. D. 1373, he says, " At present that ecclesiastical censures " are better executed with the help of the secular " arm, we hope to extirpate schism in that island." He therefore directed that no clergyman should receive holy orders except from Latins, and that no Greek, priest or monk, should hear confessions, or preach to the people.

For some time the popes had a better prospect of success with the Armenians than with the Greeks. In A. D. 1346, these people wanting the assistance of the christians in the West, against the Turks, called a council, and condemned all the errors which Clement VI informed them they held, and promised to conform in all respects to the church of Rome ; and for this purpose the pope sent two nuncios into the country. But no assistance being procured, the Armenians continued as far removed from the church of Rome as the Greeks.

2. *Articles relating to Church Discipline.*

We find some new festivals introduced into the church in this period, as well as the preceding. John XXII introduced the festival of the *holy trinity*, which had been celebrated in some cathedrals and monasteries an hundred years before, but without uniformity; some observing it at one time, an others at another. In A. D. 1373, the festival of the *presentation of Christ in the temple* was brought from the East into the Western churches, with the permission of the pope.

Some festivals were confined to particular countries. In A. D. 1353 Innocent VI, at the request of the emperor Charles IV, instituted a festival in honor of the *sacred lance and nails*, which had been the instrument of our saviour's passion, in consequence of the great devotion that had been paid to them in Germany and Bohemia. In those countries it was appointed to be celebrated every two years, and an office was to be composed for it by such prelates as the emperor should chuse. The pope also granted an indulgence of three years and three quarters to those who should visit the church in which those relicks were preserved, one of an hundred hours for the mass, and for each hour of the office.

But

But the most important of the new festivals introduced in this period was that of the *Jubilee* at Rome. In A. D. 1299, a report, the origin of which has not been traced, prevailed in that city, that all the inhabitants who should visit the church of St. Peter the following year, would gain a plenary indulgence for all their sins, and that every century it would have the same virtue; and accordingly, on the first day of January in A. D. 1300, especially in the evening, and till midnight, there was a prodigious concourse of people to visit that church, it being then imagined that the indulgence would end that day. Others, however, continued to perform their devotions at that church for two months following. The pope observing this, after consulting with the cardinals, issued a bull, in which he granted a plenary indulgence to all persons who should visit the churches of St. Peter and Paul at Rome during the first year of that, and every succeeding century; but it was not at that time called a *jubilee*, or said to be in imitation of the Jewish law. In consequence of this, so great was the concourse of people from all parts of the Christian world, that John Villani, who was present, says that there were always in Rome not fewer than two hundred thousand pilgrims, besides reckoning those who were at the same time continually going and returning; and yet that there was no want of  
pro-



provisions for man or horse, and that the people of Rome were great gainers by it.

At the request of the people of Rome, who had found the benefit of this new popular institution, Clement VI reduced the jubilee from an hundred to fifty years, and he first introduced this term, observing that Christ came to fulfil the Jewish law in a spiritual manner. Accordingly in the year A. D. 1350, the concourse of people at Rome was prodigious, and tho' it began at Christmas, when the cold was extreme, neither the snow nor the broken roads were any impediment to the pilgrims, and as neither the inns nor the houses were sufficient to contain them, many persons made fires, and slept in the open air. It was supposed that there were never fewer than a million or twelve hundred thousand persons in Rome at the same time, from Christmas to Easter, and at Whitsuntide more than eight hundred thousand, and that the smallest number was two hundred thousand. For the consolation of the pilgrims, the holy handkerchief was exhibited every Sunday, and on all the great festivals; and on these occasions the crouds were so great, that many persons were crushed to death. At the end of the year the number of pilgrims increased, and then came the great lords and ladies from Italy and other countries. All the people of Rome were innkeepers on this  
occa-

occasion, and by preventing the arrival of supplies from abroad, sold every thing excessively dear.

In A. D. 1389 Urban VI reduced the jubilee from fifty years to thirty-three, on the idea of Christ having lived that number of years on earth, and accordingly he appointed the year following, A. D. 1390, for the celebration of it; and then there was a great concourse of pilgrims, but only from the countries in the obedience of Boniface, the successor of Urban, and who had confirmed what he had fixed with respect to it. Tho' the great presents which on this occasion were made to the churches in Rome came into the hands of the pope, not content with this, he sent persons into every province, to sell indulgences to those who did not go to Rome, at the price that the journey would have cost. From some provinces he, by this means, drew more than two hundred thousand florins in gold. These indulgences, it was said, would avail for the remission of all sins, without any other penance. Many of these distributors of indulgences having embezzled the money they received, were punished; some of them were torn in pieces by the populace, and some killed themselves. There were also on this occasion, many impostors, who pretended to have the papal authority, and who absolved persons of all crimes for small sums, and granted dispensations of every kind.

kind. In order to raise money, this pope also granted indulgences to those who visited the churches at Cologne, Magdeburgh, and other cities, which brought a great number of pilgrims to them. He granted so many of every kind, tho' none without money, that they became quite contemptible.

Notwithstanding this reduction of the Jubilee to a smaller number of years, the idea of its being for a century was so fixed, that when the year A. D. 1400 arrived, it was attended by great numbers, and even from France, tho' forbidden by the king, and tho' the pilgrims suffered much from the troops of the pope, who plundered them, and abused the women, some of noble families. The plague also was in Rome this year, and the pope durst not leave it, lest he should by that means lose the temporal sovereignty of the city; and yet he contributed nothing from his treasury for the relief of sick strangers.

There was no change in the mode of administering the ordinances of baptism or the Lord's supper by the Catholics in this period. It appears by the writings of William Durante, bishop of Monde, who died in A. D. 1296, that baptism was performed by immersion, and only at Easter and Whitsuntide, except in case of necessity. But

at

at the time of the benediction of a font, a few children were baptized.

The Lord's supper was administered to the laity in general, only in one kind, which took place gradually, and without any order of the pope or council, but on particular occasions the cup was given to some laymen. Thus Clement VI gave a licence to the king of France, and also to Eudes duke of Burgundy, to communicate in both kinds; but recommended to them to do it with great precaution, that none of the precious blood might be spilled.

But communion in both kinds was so evidently the primitive custom, that it contributed greatly to recommend the principles of the Waldenses, who retained it. But in no country was more stress laid upon it than in Bohemia, at the time of the council of Constance. It was strenuously insisted upon by one Jacobel, rector of the parish of St. Michael in Prague, who had been instructed by Peter of Dresden, and expelled from Saxony, for the heresy of the Waldenses. He having established this custom in his own parish, the clergy got him expelled from that church; but he was received in another, where he taught the same doctrine. At length he was excommunicated by the archbishop of Prague; but as he paid no regard to that, the affair was brought before the council

council of Constance. There communion in both kinds was acknowledged to have been the ancient custom; but that, to avoid danger, communion in one kind only had been so long established with respect to the laity, that no person ought to change it without the authority of the church; and that to maintain the contrary was heresy, and ought to be punished as such. At the same time it was also decreed that the eucharist ought to be received fasting. It was likewise decreed that, as new heresies were continually rising in the church, commissaries should be appointed to examine matters of faith, and judge concerning them, till a definitive sentence should be pronounced.

### 3. *Remarkable Instances of Superstition.*

As superstition is always in proportion to ignorance, joined with curiosity, it might have been expected that we should see less of it in this period; and no doubt, with those who were in any measure benefited by the greater light that was now springing up, there was less of superstition than before; but this was chiefly with the reformed. In the Romish church things continued, in this respect as well as others, pretty much as they were before; and consequently the reign of the most ridiculous and absurd superstition was by no means at an end.

I have noted the following particulars, as the most remarkable, and curious, that I have met with.

At the council at Pennafiel in Spain, in A. D. 1302, the priests were ordered to make the bread destined for consecration themselves; or at least to have it made in their presence, by other ministers of the church. But this falls far short of the precautions prescribed in the monastery of Mount Cassin, of which an account was given before.

In A. D. 1327 John XXII confirmed the indulgence which he had granted twelve years before, to those who should repeat every evening the angelic salutation. This piece of devotion had been introduced into the church of Saintes; to admonish the faithful by the sound of a bell to make their prayers to the virgin in the evening; and this pope approving of it, by his bull in A. D. 1318, granted ten days indulgence to those who should repeat that form of devotion on their knees:

Charobert, king of Hungary, having made various vows to repeat on certain days such a number of *pater's*, *ave Maria's*, and *salve regina's*, found them very inconvenient to him, when he had much business; and therefore requested the pope in A. D. 1339 to commute them, which he did, limiting them to fifteen a day, under an obligation to maintain twelve poor persons, on those days on which he had been obliged to repeat more than fifty prayers. . . . . Pope

Pope Urban, as a favour to the king of Denmark, who paid him a visit at Avignon in A. D. 1364, granted indulgences to those who should pray for him, and made him partake of all the good works that should be done in the church. He, moreover, gave him the following relicks to enrich his churches; some of the hair and clothes of the blessed virgin, some wood of the cross, some relicks of John the Baptist, of St. George, and St. Vincent, and also of St. Nereus and Achilles.

At the conclusion of the council of Constance pope Martin granted to all the members of it the full remission of all their sins once during their lives. It was also granted to them in the article of death. The same was allowed to their domestics, on condition that they fasted every friday during one year for an absolution during life, and another for that at the article of death.

We have had instances of curious penances for crimes in former periods. The following which occurs in this, may be compared with them. Martin de la Scala of Verona, having been concerned in the murder of the archbishop of that city, and having solicited for absolution for himself and his accomplices, the pope granted it on the following terms. Eight days after their absolution they were to go on foot, in their shirts, and bareheaded, from the entrance of the city of Verona to the cathedral church,

church, each carrying a lighted torch, of the weight of six pounds, and causing a hundred more such to be carried before them by other persons. Being arrived at the church, on a Sunday, at the time of high mass, they should present their torches, and ask pardon for their crimes of the canons. In the six months following they were to offer in the same church a silver image of the blessed virgin, of the weight of thirty marks, and ten silver lamps, of three marks each, with a fund sufficient for oil, to keep them always burning. In that year they were to found, in the same church, six chapelries, with the revenue of twenty florins of gold each. The day on which the bishop was murdered each of the two penitents was to feed and clothe twenty-four poor persons, and both of them were to fast every Friday as long as they lived. Whenever there should be a general expedition to the holy land, they were to send twenty horsemen, and maintain them for one year; and if there should be no such expedition in their life time, they should lay their heirs under an obligation to discharge that part of their penance for them. Fleury justly adds, he saw nothing in this that a rich man might not do without any conversion of the heart.

Superstition is no preventative of vice, but rather a promoter of it. In this period, as in the former, complaint was made of the profanation of festivals.



festivals. It appeared particularly by the instructions sent to the council of Vienne in A. D. 1311, that great abuses prevailed in France, in which markets, fairs, and assizes, were held on Sundays, and the great festivals; so that Fleury says the days destined for the honour of God were profaned by debauches in taverns, quarrels, blasphemies, and other crimes.

Heathenish superstitions have not ceased among Christians even to this day. We are not, therefore, surprized to read that, in A. D. 1318, some persons attempted to destroy pope John XXII, by making images of wax, and torturing them, and by the invocation of demons.

Under this head of superstition, I shall place some instances of rigour, and also some of mystical devotion, which occur in this period, both arising from false notions of God and religion.

In A. D. 1349, after the great plague, which it is supposed swept off nearly one half of the people of Europe, at least of the more civilized part of it, the business of voluntary flagellation was resumed. About the middle of June about two hundred persons came from Suabia to Spire, having a leader, and two other masters, by whom they were directed in every thing. When they came to the great church, they made a circle round it, stripped themselves almost naked, and whipped one another,

but with much order, prostrating themselves in the form of a cross, and praying for the mercy of God for their friends and enemies, and also for the souls in purgatory. At this place they were received with much affection and hospitality, but did not receive any thing of value, except for the torches and banners which they carried with them. Their rule was to whip themselves twice a day. They never spoke to any woman, nor lay upon a feather bed. They all wore red crosses, on black garments, before and behind, with scourges fastened to their girdles. They continued only one night in a parish, except on sundays, when they passed two.

They pretended that an angel had appeared at Jerusalem, informing them, that Christ was offended with the sins of the world; but that being intreated by the virgin Mary and the angels, he said that all persons must banish themselves from their houses, and whip themselves, thirty-four days; and then that their blood, mixed with his, would suffice for the remission of their sins. At Spire more than an hundred persons joined them, and at Strasbourgh about a thousand, who all promised obedience to the masters for thirty-four days; for they received no persons on any other terms. They were to be furnished with four deniers a day for the whole time, lest they should be reduced to beg;

beg; and they must also have the consent of their wives. Some women, however, joined them, whipping themselves like the men. Many priests and mendicants despised this method of devotion, and the pope published a bull to put a stop to it. It was also condemned by the university of Paris, and king Philip forbade any of those Flagellants coming into France on pain of death.

In A. D. 1398 there was another similar movement of devotion, which began in Scotland; some persons arrived from that country in Italy with crosses made, it is said, with brick dust and blood, mixed with oil, on their garments; saying, that the world would soon be destroyed by an earthquake. In consequence of this, there were seen every where processions of persons walking in long white garments, with hoods covering their faces, so that nothing was seen of them but their eyes. Almost all the people, even the priests, and some cardinals, dressed in white habits, joined these processions, singing hymns composed for the occasion thirteen days. As many of these people slept in churches, monasteries, and church yards, many disorders were committed; but this devotion produced some good effects. Truces were made between people and cities, which had been at war, mortal enmities of long standing were appeased, confession and communion were frequent. The

cities thro' which they passed received them with great hospitality, and the whole lasted two or three months. The near approach of the jubilee contributed to excite this devotion. *Fleury*, Vol. 20. P. 454.

Very different accounts are given of the persons who got the appellation of *Whites*, and came to Italy in the tenth year of Boniface. The following account is from Poggio in his *History of Florence*. "There arose," he says, "at this time a  
"new species of religion, which came from Savoy,  
"and contributed much to promote peace. Men  
"and women of every age walked barefoot in white  
"garments, nine days from their habitations, begging their bread, with fasting and prayer, and  
"sleeping in the open air. Before they took the  
"habit they confessed to their priests, professing  
"much repentance for their past sins, and forgiving  
"all offences committed against them. The people  
"of Lucca, to the number of four thousand, came  
"in this manner to Florence, with a crucifix carried before them, and they were entertained at  
"the public expence. After this there came others  
"from Pistoia and Prato in the same manner.  
"The Florentines, in imitation of them, put on  
"white garments, and embraced this religion with  
"such fervour that no person could safely shew  
"any contempt for it. Good works were perform-  
"ed

ed with wonderful emulation, the most inveterate animosities were laid aside, and assassinations and intrigues against neighbours were no more heard of."

According to other accounts these *white brothers*, as they were sometimes called, appeared in Prussia, and in most parts of Europe. But one of their leaders having a crucifix, which, by some means or other, he made to appear to sweat, was apprehended by orders from the pope, and was said to have been put to death. *L'Enfant's Pise*, Vol. i. p. 104.

This mode of religion was revived; and seemingly with more authority, in A. D. 1410, after Italy had suffered much from a plague, and the civil wars occasioned by the schism. Persons of all ages, and both sexes, were seen in cities and the open fields marching in long white garments; and all who did not join them were considered as profane and impious. Princes, prelates, and all the clergy adopted it, as well as the common people. All law suits were suspended, enemies were reconciled, and a great reformation of manners was effected. These processions continued three months. *Ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 33.

A similar good effect had been produced by the accidental burning down of the church of St. John de Lateran in A. D. 1308. The people of Rome,

considering it as a judgment of God, made processions to implore the divine mercy, divisions were appeased, enemies reconciled, and many persons of both sexes gave other signs of repentance, *Fleury*, Vol. 9. p. 432.

In A. D. 1414 there appeared in Misnia persons who called themselves *brothers of the cross*, who rejected baptism, and whipping themselves, said that the baptism of blood was substituted instead of that by water. It is possible, however, that these people might be Waldenses, or some class of reformers, who were falsely charged with this opinion, and perhaps with the practice of flagellation also. For besides rejecting baptism, they denied the presence of Christ in the eucharist, confession of sins to a priest, and his power of absolution, purgatory, and prayers for the dead. They celebrated no festival besides Sunday, Christmas, and that of the Assumption of the virgin. This last, however, accords but ill with the other particulars ascribed to them. Some of these persons were convinced, and others burned alive at Sangerhusen. *Ib.* Vol. 21. p. 198.

There have been in all ages persons of a thoughtful turn, who have laid greater stress on internal feelings than on external acts in religion. Some of these people having the best dispositions, and aiming at perfection of character, have often  
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entertained the most sublime sentiments, tho' mixed with enthusiastic notions and practices. - Of this class was John Rusbroek, a priest and regular canon at Valvert near Bruffels, who distinguished himself by his addicthedness to contemplation, and his writings concerning the interior life; imagining that what he wrote was by the dictates of the Holy Spirit. He left many works, in some of which, speaking of obedience, he says, "The will of man may be so united to that of God, that he cannot desire any thing else. We must," he says, "repose in God himself, and not in his gifts, as graces, virtues, and good works. In prayer," he says, "if, Lord, it be for thy glory, I would chuse to be plunged in hell, as much as be received into heaven." Speaking of communion and the sentiments that preceded and accompanied it, he says that, "in this exercise, sensible love, compassion, and the attentive consideration of the wounds of Christ, aided by the imagination, may be so lively, that the spiritual man shall believe that he feels the pain not only in his mind, but in his limbs." Treating of what he calls *spiritual intoxication*, he says, "When a man receives more spiritual joy than the heart can contain, it expresses itself in extraordinary gestures. Some persons sing hymns, others shed tears, or run about, dancing, and clapping their hands; and

“and some faint away. They,” says he, “who find themselves in this state, ought to be thankful and humble.” He was sensible of false pretences to a life of contemplation and devotion. For speaking of the illusions of false mystics, he says, “These men only seek natural quiet. Under the pretence of contemplation they sit still, without any occupation, interior or exterior, which produces ignorance and blindness, accompanied with self conceit, and pride, the source of all other vices.” *Flury*, Vol. 26. p. 311. John Thaulerus, a Dominican, and great theo’ogian, resorted much to Rußbrock, and is said by this means to have profited much in the interior and contemplative life, as appears by his writings.

Superstition was much promoted by fabulous legends, and in this period James de Voragine, who was made archbishop of Genoa in A. D. 1292, wrote the lives of the saints, called the *Golden legend*, for the esteem in which it was held for two hundred years. Afterwards, however, it fell into great contempt, on account of the fables with which it was filled, not however of his own invention; but that age being fond of the marvellous, he added such circumstances and speeches as he thought proper.



**4. *Of the Extension of Christianity.***

There is but little to boast of the real progress of Christianity in this period, and what was propagated under that name was little better than a miserable superstition, preferable, however, to the heathenism, of which it took place. Many of the conversions were the empty boasts of the missionaries, which had no permanent effects.

In A. D. 1307 John de Montcorvin, a Franciscan, wrote from Tartary, that he had made great progress in the conversion of that country, having baptized many hundreds of the people. On this Clement V made him bishop of Cambalu, the capital, and sent seven other friars of the same order to be bishops under him. In A. D. 1326 Andrew of Persa, another missionary to the same country, wrote, that he made no converts among the Jews or Mahometans, but that he converted many of the Heathens. But he acknowledged that many of these did not live like good Christians. Raimond Lulli, a Franciscan of the third order, and who had greatly distinguished himself by his metaphysical and other writings, undertook to preach Christianity to the Mahometans on the coasts of Africa, but he was stoned to death there in A. D. 1315.

The North Eastern part of Europe continued in nearly the same state in which it was in the last period. In A. D. 1324 Godemin, duke of Lithuania, complained to the pope, that tho' his predecessor became a convert of Christianity with all his subjects, the insults and atrocious violence of the Teutonic knights had made them return to idolatry. To these complaints the pope opposed ecclesiastical censures. In A. D. 1385, Jagellon, duke of Lithuania, having married a daughter of the king of Hungary and Poland, became a Christian, after having long resisted the solicitations of the neighbouring princes to that purpose. Along with him were baptized three of his brothers, and some lords. His other brother had been baptized according to the Greek ritual. After this the king extinguished the sacred fire which the heathen Lithuanians kept up, and he also killed some serpents which they kept in their houses, as domestic divinities. The people, fearing no mischief arising from it, at length submitted to be baptized, the nobles one at a time, but with respect to the commonalty, it was deemed sufficient to throw holy water upon a multitude of them at the same time, giving the same Christian name to every individual of the several companies. On this Fleury expresses a doubt, whether the baptism would, in all the cases, be valid, as, in a great croud, some might

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might escape without any of the baptismal water touching them. As the king gave woollen garments to those who were baptized, many came to the baptism for the sake of that present.

In A. D. 1413 Ladislas Jagellon, king of Poland, went to Samogitia, the inhabitants of which were heathens, who kept up a perpetual fire, and a sacred grove with animals; when he himself extinguished the fire, cut down the sacred grove, and slew the animals. On this the people, seeing that this was done with impunity, deserted their former worship, and became Christians.

In A. D. 1366 the Franciscans made many converts in Bulgaria. Marc de Viterbo, the general of the order, says that in fifty days they baptized more than two hundred thousand men, whose names he in order to be sure of the number, the king entered in a public register; and yet one third of the country was not yet converted, tho' the heretics and schismatics, heretofore so obstinate, as well as the Patarins, and Manicheans, were more than ever disposed to become Catholics. Lastly, in A. D. 1370, Lasco, duke of Moldavia, being converted by a Franciscan, abandoned the Greek church, and became a Catholic.

5. *Of the Jews in this Period.*

The sufferings of the Jews were by no means ended with the last period. Philip the Fair, king of France, had all the Jews in his dominions arrested in one day in A. D. 1306, and all their goods confiscated, leaving only as much to each as was sufficient to carry him out of the country; and they were forbidden to return on pain of death. Some were baptized, and stayed; but many died on the road, with grief and fatigue. However, in 1315, Lewis Hutin permitted them to return, on their advancing him a sum of money for their wars in Flanders.

But their sufferings in France were not yet at an end. For in A. D. 1320 a number of the common people, chiefly shepherds, imagining that the relief of the holy land was destined to be effected by their means, formed themselves into large bodies, walking in procession, two and two, thro' France, visiting particular churches, and begging provisions, with which, as the people favoured them, they were abundantly supplied; but being joined by many disorderly people, they were guilty of many crimes, plundering even the churches; and they murdered the Jews whenever they met with them, especially at Thoulouse, and in the South of France; the king's officers not being able to hinder them. Going to Avignon, where the pope

pope then was, they endeavoured to make themselves masters of the place; but he took his measures so well, that many of them were killed, others taken, and hanged, and the rest dispersed. These shepherds of France beset a castle to which many Jews had retired, when, on the failure of weapons, they threw their children from the walls to excite compassion, but it had no effect. The besiegers breaking down the gates, found only dead bodies, and a few children. The Jews had killed one another, that they might not fall into the hands of the Christians. There remained only one person alive, and him they tore in pieces. The plague having seized these shepherds, they imputed it to the Jews, who they said had poisoned the wells; and the king, unable to protect them, on their refusal to embrace Christianity, delivered up fifteen thousand, all of whom they burned alive. *Baſnage*, Vol. 9. p. 522. 526.

A Jew being falsely accused of murdering a Christian in the reign of Charles VI of France, several of that nation were apprehended, and of these some were hanged, others were scourged, and the synagogue was condemned to pay eighteen hundred crowns. Two years after this all the Jews were banished from France, and in a manner that made the event so calamitous that it became an

epocha in their history, and from it they dated subsequent events. *Bafnage*, Vol. 9. p. 605.

England was disturbed and relieved in the same manner about the same time. On this occasion the pope published a bull in favour of the Jews, tho' at the same time he condemned the Talmud, and ordered the copies of it to be burned.

In A. D. 1338 many Jews were murdered in Austria, on the pretence of their procuring consecrated hosts, and piercing them, so that blood came out of them. But it was found that some Christians got wafers not consecrated, and made them bloody, in order to throw an odium on the Jews. These violences, however, extended thro' the whole of Upper Germany, where the peasants assembled, and murdered all the Jews they could find, on pretence of zeal for Christianity. But the emperor Lewis put a stop to these proceedings.

The great plague in A. D. 1348 being ascribed to the Jews poisoning the fountains, many of them were murdered without examination, and many mothers, fearing that their children would be baptized after their deaths, threw them into the fire along with themselves, to be burned together with their husbands. These massacres were most frequent in Germany; but the pope prevented them at Avignon.

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In A. D. 1340 there was an insurrection of the people of Spain against the Jews of Toledo, whither R. Afcher, who had fled from his native country Nothenberg, had taken refuge with his eight sons. One of these, seeing the Christians bursting into the house, killed all his relations who were there with him, his own wife, and that of his brother Jacob, and then himself. This Jacob tho' poor was a learned man, and was of the most generous disposition. He had taught *gratis*, and left behind him a work on civil and ecclesiastical law. *Basnage*, Vol. 9. p. 530.

In A. D. 1390, under Henry III of Castile, Martin archdeacon of Astigya preaching in the streets of Seville and Cordova, raised a violent persecution against the Jews, and procured them to be massacred in that city. The same fate pursued them to Toledo, Valentia, and Barcelona, where some were plundered, and others killed, tho' some renounced their religion to save their lives. The synagogues of Seville and Cordova which had been numerously attended were destroyed. Those who fled to Andalusia and other places were killed by the inhabitants. His son John was not more humane than his father. Those who were concealed in the former reign perished miserably in the latter. *Ibid.* Vol. 9. p. 537. Nor were the Jews more at their ease in Arragon. *Ib.*

After some time the Jews met with better treatment, and in A. D. 1412, many of them were converted by Vincent Ferrier, a Dominican, and among them Joshua Horlaci, physician to Benedict XIII, who, being baptized, took the name of *Jerome of the holy faith*. After his conversion he composed two treatises against the Jews, one on the method of convincing them, and the other against the Talmud. In the first he shewed that the twenty-four conditions which they require in the Messiah were found in Jesus. He was answered by Isaac Nathan, and several others.

There were several public conferences with the Jews in the presence of Benedict XIII at Tortosa in Spain, when the principal of the disputants on the part of the Christians was Jerome. In consequence of these conferences and the preaching of Vincent Ferrier, \* it was said that great numbers

\* Vincent Ferrier preached with great applause thirty years in Spain, France, and Italy, and more miracles are ascribed to him than to Moses or Jesus Christ. He is said to have converted thirty thousand Mahometans, besides Jews, Waldenses, and other heretics; and what is more, to have reclaimed a hundred thousand from a profligate life. He is, however, said to have thought too well of the Flagellants, who followed him with much applause. This appears from a letter that



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of Jews were converted; but relapsing to their former faith, it served as a pretext for the pope to persecute them. In the bulls that he published on this occasion he ordered the inquisition to proceed against any persons who should keep any of their books; and he ordered all princes to exclude Jews from the benefit of the laws in the administration of justice. He forbade all communication or conversation with Jews; and directed that they should be distinguished from Christians by opprobrious badges, and not allowed to follow any trade, or lend money on usury; and lastly, that they should become Christians, or be imprisoned for life. A particular account of each of these conferences is given by a Jewish writer; and according to him those of his religion had the advantage in the argument. This account may be seen in *L'Enfant's History of the council of Pisa*, Vol. 2. p. 153. &c.

In order to promote the conversion of unbelievers in general, and the Jews among the rest, it was ordered at the council of Vienne in A. D. 1312, that there should be masters to teach Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee in the court of Rome, and

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that Gerson wrote to him from the council of Constance, whither he wished to draw him. After the election of Martin V he deserted Benedict. He died at Vannes in Brittany in A. D. 1419, and was afterwards canonized. *L'Enfant's Pise*, Vol. 2. p. 138.

in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, two for each.

#### 6. *Of the Crusades.*

Tho' there was no general expedition actually entered upon for the recovery of the holy land in this period, it did not immediately cease to be a considerable object with the Christian powers. The taking of Rhodes by the knights of St. John encouraged some to make the attempt; and at the council of Vienne in A. D. 1312, Henry king of the Romans, Philip king of France, Lewis of Navarre, and Edward II of England, promised to undertake the expedition; and in consequence of this a general crusade was ordered to be published, and a levy was made of the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues for six years.

John XXII was a zealous promoter of another crusade; and in his time Philip, king of France, actually took the cross, as chief of the expedition; being allowed the tenth of all the church livings in his kingdom for the purpose; and in A. D. 1353, the crusade was preached thro' all France, the troops being appointed to embark in three years.

In A. D. 1365 an attempt was actually made to recover the holy land by another descent upon Egypt. After great efforts on the part of pope Urban V, Peter de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, failed

failed with an army of ten thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse; and after a solemn benediction given by the legate, they landed near Alexandria, and took the place. But finding their numbers were not sufficient to keep possession of it, they plundered, and then abandoned it. This unsuccessful attempt was of great disservice to the Christian cause, as it excited the sultan of Egypt to engage the assistance of the Turks, in order to get possession of Cyprus and Rhodes, from which islands the Christian powers had failed to attack him.

7. *Of the Increase of Infidelity.*

Infidelity appears to have made great progress in this period, in consequence of the writings of Averroes in the preceding. An enthusiastic admiration of his writings and those of Aristotle, on which he wrote commentaries, and which were quoted as oracles in the schools of philosophy, occasioned a great contempt for the books of scripture, and the writings of the Christian Fathers, especially in the principal cities of Italy, where learning was most cultivated. Of this Melchior Camus, bishop of the Canaries, made heavy complaints.

Petrarch was exceedingly shocked at the affrontery of those unbelievers whom he met with at

Venice. They made no account of Jesus Christ or the apostles, despising them as unlettered men; and their doctrines they treated as fables. They respected no persons as men of sense, and philosophers, but those who ridiculed them; and they considered those who defended them as mere fools. One of them meeting with Petrarch in a bookseller's shop, after expressing great contempt for the apostles and the Christian Fathers, said that if he could but read Aveiroles, he would see how superior he was to those simpletons. (*nugatoribus.*)

Peter D'Apono, a famous professor of medicine and astronomy at Padua in the time of Petrarch, and who, in A. D. 1310, had written a commentary on the problems of Aristotle, was one of the heads of these unbelievers. He ridiculed the miracles of Christ, and especially that of the resurrection of Lazarus. He was, however, sentenced by the inquisition to be burned; but it was only executed in effigy after his death.

Petrarch hearing so much in praise of the writings of Aveiroles, had the curiosity to read them; and he was so much shocked that he formed a design of answering them. But his age and various occupations preventing him, he endeavoured to persuade Lewis Masigli, a monk of the order of St. Austins at Florence, to undertake it, and to dedicate his work to him; being probably ignorant, as  
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the writer of his memoirs says, that Thomas Aquinas, and after him several others, had combated the opinion of the unity of intellect, and that R. Lull in particular had solicited Clement VI to condemn the errors of Averroes.

At Padua Averroism made such progress, that Urban of Bologna, prior of the Servites, who had been professor of theology at Paris and Bologna as well as at Padua, was called *the Averroist*, on account of his great attachment to this writer, on whom he wrote commentaries. In a later period Nicolet Vernios, one of the professors at Padua, published a treatise in which the doctrine of Averroes was represented in so pleasing a light, that it was said he drew almost all Italy into his opinions. At length the magnitude of the evil induced Leo X, in a later period still, to endeavour to stop the progress of it, by a bull published at the council of Lateran, in which he forbade, under heavy penalties, the teaching that "the soul of man is mortal, or that there is but one soul," or principle of intellect, "in all men."

These philosophers did not attack Christianity openly; and Petrarch says that when they discoursed in public, they always said that they spoke as philosophers, or not as theologians. By this conduct, and always professing their belief of the

doctrines of the Catholic church, they escaped persecution.

This contempt for revealed religion affected even the learned Mahometans, and one of their writers reproached the Caliph Almamon, who introduced the works of Aristotle among them; saying the Arabs despised the Koran after they had read Aristotle. Averroes said that Judaism was the religion of children, and Mahometanism that of hogs; but that no religion was so absurd as that of the Christians, who worshipped what they ate. *Memoirs de Petrarch*, Vol. 3. p. 750. &c. So ready were unbelievers then, as well as now, to take advantage of the corruptions of Christianity to decry the whole scheme. Of how great importance, then, is it to detect and expose those corruptions. We are much obliged to unbelievers for their assistance in this useful work.

8. I shall close this period with the mention of an article of some curiosity.

In A. D. 1300 pope Boniface VII forbade the custom of boiling the dead bodies of princes, and other persons of distinction, in order to separate their bones, and convey them to distant places; a method which, it has been observed, was used with respect to the body of Lewis. This custom  
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the pope reprobated as barbarous, and forbid it under pain of excommunication, to those who should practice it, and the deprivation of Christian burial to those on whom it was practiced. *Fleury*, Vol. 19. P. 44.

*The End of the second Volume of the second Part,  
or the fourth of the whole Work.*











1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates, which appears to be a record of some kind. The names are written in a cursive script, and the dates are in a more formal, printed style. The list is organized in a columnar fashion, with names and dates alternating.

